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The Child Labor Bulletin

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National Child Labor Committee

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THE National Child Labor Committee's campaign is dependent entirely on voluntary contributions.

The effort to develop an intelligent interest in the enforcement of child labor laws is as important as the work of investigation to reveal existing conditions and of campaigns to secure good laws.

The Committee needs a substantial endowment. We solicit the co-operation of our members in interesting persons who are disposed to make large bequests or legacies to philanthropic enterprises.

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A

NATIONAL PROBLEM

Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Conference on Child Labor, held at New Orleans, La., March 15-18, 1914, under the auspices of the National Child Labor Committee.

National Child Labor Committee
(INCORPORATED)
105 EAST 22D STREET, NEW YORK CITY
1914

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COMMITTEE

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PRESS OF
CLARENCE S. NATHAN
NEW YORK

A SPRING SONG.

The sun is kissing my sisters today,
Out where the breezes blow.
The buttercups nod to my sisters today,
Out where the breezes blow.
And my sisters laugh as they bend to the breeze,
Laugh with the orioles high in the trees,—
Out where the breezes blow.

Oh, little sisters, laugh once for me,
Out where the breezes blow.
Laugh for the gladness that died in me,—
Out where the breezes blow.
Laugh,—for I can not,—it chokes me to,—
They have not shackled a loom to you,
Out where the breezes blow.

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EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE FEDERAL BILL.

We venture to hope that Uncle Sam is going to begin to fulfil his obligation to the children. It is true that the Palmer-Owen federal child labor bill has not yet been reported out of Committee in either House, but two hearings have already been held and as we go to press we learn that a third is scheduled for the 22d of May, when the arguments of the opposition will be set forth. The first hearing was brief, and Mr. Palmer, who introduced the bill, was the only speaker. On the 9th of March Mrs. Kelley of the National Consumers' League, Miss Lathrop, chief of the Children's Bureau, Dr. William D. Lewis, dean of the University of Pennsylvania Law School, Hon. Jasper Y. Brinton, former Attorney-General of Pennsylvania, Owen R. Lovejoy and A. J. McKelway of the National Child Labor Committee, and others reviewed before the Committee their reasons for desiring federal child labor legislation in general and the Palmer-Owen bill in particular. The Committee listened with close attention and the questions they addressed to the speakers were free from that spirit of irony and obstructiveness with which legislators have sometimes chosen to try the souls of reformers. Another encouraging phenomenon has been the sinking of party lines and the whole-hearted support of the Palmer bill on its merits by Democrats, Republicans and Progressives, Senator Kenyon, whose bill with a 14-year limit but no provisions covering children fourteen to sixteen was pending in Congress, has recognized the good features of the Palmer bill and withdrawn his measure entirely. It is believed that the Committee will report the bill favorably, and it has the support of Mr. Underwood and other leaders on the floor of the House. We hope you will read the addresses on federal legislation delivered at New Orleans and write to your Congressman urging him to support the bill. (Refer to it as H.R. 12292.)

We congratulate the South. A southern state, Kentucky, has jumped to the front rank among all the states by including street work in the occupations forbidden under fourteen. A new child labor law, of which a full discussion will be found in the Proceedings, brings Kentucky up to the standard of the Uniform Child Labor Law in practically all respects. It adds Kentucky to the seven other states which do not permit persons under twenty-one years to be employed as night messengers, and to the eighteen states which limit the working day of persons under sixteen to eight hours. And Kentucky has stepped ahead of Massachusetts, the literate and learned, in one point concerning education. Massachusetts allows children under sixteen to go to work if they have passed the fourth grade; Kentucky has raised this requirement to the fifth grade. Another southern state, Virginia, has just included street work in her child labor law but she is content with a ten-year age limit for newsboys. In other ways this law marks a distinct advance in Virginia: for the first time it prohibits night work by persons under sixteen, it sets an eighteen-year limit for night messengers and it extends the fourteen-year age limit to include stores, laundries and messenger service as well as factories. It is disappointing, however, that the law still allows special exemptions from the fourteen-year age limit for poor children, although experience has proved that child labor is the most expensive form of poor relief and that poor children need more than others the protection of a strong child labor law.

PROGRESS IN THE SOUTH.

New Jersey has also recognized the principle that street work requires regulation but that is the best that we can say for the street work provisions in her new compulsory education law which allows a special age and working certificate for children ten to sixteen to engage in outdoor occupations outside of school hours. The New Jersey Child Labor Committee protested against this absurdly inadequate provision. Thirteen states have forbidden street work to girls under sixteen or eighteen years (except that Utah and New Hampshire apply the sixteen-year limit to newsgirls only and allow girls to black boots at twelve years and ten years respectively!) But New Jersey has made real progress in other respects. She has

OTHER ADVANCES.

extended the fourteen-year limit to mercantile establishments at all times; she has for the first time incorporated in her work permits an educational requirement, the fifth grade; and she has limited the work day of children under sixteen to eight hours. New York was one of the first states to establish the eight-hour day for children in factories, but only this year has she reduced to eight hours their work day in stores and other occupations covered by the mercantile law. In Massachusetts the labor men again proposed a five-hour day for all under sixteen while the textile owners worked hard for a return to a ten-hour day. The Massachusetts Child Labor Committee were content to defend the eight-hour day. They proved to the satisfaction of the Commonwealth that the employers' opposition to it had come from a small but vociferous group and that the dire results predicted for industry and for the children had absolutely failed to appear.

REACTION.

The value of the eight-hour day is rarely appreciated by those who never had a taste of factory work. The monotony, the dreary round, the interminable day of ten or eleven hours, are bad enough for a grown-up, intolerable to the restless spirit of a child. And how glibly a legislature disposes of hours. Men who would carefully guard their own growing boys from overwork do not hesitate to add two hours to the workday of boys in cotton mills. We are tempted to this diatribe by a compromise in Mississippi. State factory inspection was provided for with the endorsement of the cotton mill men in return for a lowering of the age limits to which the eight-hour day shall apply. So that boys fourteen to sixteen and girls sixteen to eighteen will now work ten hours instead of eight. Of course we welcome the inspector but we wonder whether such a sacrifice was necessary. In Maryland also the forces of reaction have been at work. They succeeded in reducing the age of newsboys from twelve to ten years; they did not succeed in admitting children under twelve to the canneries; they defeated a third bill which was introduced at the request of the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Maryland Child Labor Committee in the hope of removing the worst defects of the present law. In South Carolina and in Rhode Island good measures were defeated by

platitudes about poverty. We commend to those readers who wonder whether those platitudes are true, the words of Mrs. Kelley and Miss Gordon at the conference, reprinted on page 182.

THE MORAL.

And the moral of this is that a battle is on, but our opponents are more alert than our friends. Much of the sentiment against child labor is vague, not focussed and vigorous as it must be if the children are actually to be eliminated from industry and given their chance to grow and learn, and develop their souls and their bodies without the shadow of injustice darkening the last precious years of childhood. Legislation—hours, age limits, school requirements, proof of age—may seem a dry chronicle until we realize that without this skeleton of regulations by the state a complete childhood is for many children impossible. A particularly vivid reminder of the vital importance of child labor laws comes with the recent coal-mine disaster at Eccles, West Virginia, where five boys fourteen years old were among the victims. The company had pursued in many respects a most enlightened policy and the general conditions of the workers were unusually good. But the West Virginia law permits the employment of boys of fourteen in and about mines although mining is a hazardous occupation which ought to be—and in many states has been—prohibited under sixteen years; and the enlightenment of the company did not extend to fixing an age limit for their employees higher than that required by law. The result is this pitiable sight, slender bodies of half-grown lads laid side by side with their stalwart elders, sons by fathers, among the mangled victims. But we ought not to need these ghastly reminders, in order to be stirred to effective action.

INVOCATION.

HIS EMINENCE JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS.

We pray Thee, O God of might and wisdom and justice, by whom authority is rightly administered, laws are enacted and judgments decreed, assist with Thy Holy Spirit of counsel and fortitude the President of these United States, that his administration may be conducted in righteousness and be eminently useful to Thy people over whom he presides, by encouraging due respect for virtue and religion, by a faithful execution of the laws in justice and mercy and by restraining immorality. We recommend likewise to Thy bountiful protection all our fellow citizens and brethren here assembled today, that they may be blessed with the knowledge and sanctified by the observance of Thy most holy law, that they may be preserved in union and in that peace which the world cannot give, and after enjoying the blessings of this life be admitted to those which are eternal.

We recommend in a special manner to Thy bountiful protection the members of the Child Labor Association who are here assembled today. Fill them, O Lord, we beseech Thee, with the spirit of Thy heavenly love, that they may love and cherish the innocent and unprotected youth, in imitation of Thee, who didst embrace a child, and who hast said, "Suffer the little children to come unto me and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven." May they always be conscious of the fact that never do they approach more near to their Heavenly Father than when they cause the light of their countenance to shine upon hearts and homes that were desolate before. And may they always remember that religion, pure and undefiled, before God and the Father, is exemplified by visiting the orphans and the little ones in their tribulation and keeping one's self unspotted from this world.

THE CHILD LABOR MOVEMENT: A MOVEMENT IN THE INTERESTS OF CIVILIZATION.

DR. FELIX ADLER,
Chairman, National Child Labor Committee.

On behalf of the National Child Labor Committee and its eight thousand members permit me to thank you for the words of welcome with which you have greeted us. This is our Tenth Annual Meeting. We have heretofore met in the cities of Washington, Cincinnati, New York, Boston, Atlanta, Birmingham and Jacksonville, and now we have come to this beautiful. city of New Orleans.

We have come here for a public object but, by way of prelude to my remarks, may I say that we were also haunted by a private desire namely to verify the wonderful accounts which we had heard of the Crescent City with the unique charm which is attributed to it,—the touch of old-world civilization that is here blended with the new, the echo of Spanish stateliness and of French charm which is here mingled with American alertness. And we have not been disappointed in our expectations. The first approach to your city yesterday morning revealed it to us as a city set in sunshine and girt with a strange beauty. And here, on this Sabbath afternoon, in this open square, the roses bloom around us, palms lift their stately crowns, and the breezes that fan our cheeks are laden with old-world memories and new-world promises.

But now to turn to the public object which has brought us hither, let me say that if you would rightly understand the child labor movement, you must conceive of it as a movement planned and carried out in the interests of American civilization. It is a movement for civilization; it is not primarily a movement dictated by pity, although pity for the overwrought precocious toilers bereft of their birthright of freedom has no small share in the zeal which we invest in this movement. Yet it would be

a great error to suppose that it is primarily a sentimental movement. There are three other motives that inspire it: (1) the economic, (2) the educational, (3) the patriotic.

The economic result of the abolition of child labor will be the raising of the wages of the adult. It is the competition of the little child that drags down the wage-standard of the adult. The abolition of child labor will mean the enhancement of the standard of living for the working classes, without in the least necessarily implying an increase in the cost of production. Secondly, there is the educational motive. With the abolition of child labor our schools will become what they are not yet, true instrumentalities of vocational training, with a view to promoting genuine efficiency for the business of life.

Thirdly, the patriotic motive. The abolition of child labor will mean the building up of a citizenship more competent to deal with the great problems that still await the American people, and to solve them in the interest of a new and brighter day. This is one of the motives that inspire the men and women engaged in the child labor movement, and we ask you to be with us. We ask you not only to applaud, but to join us, to become members of this army, which already numbers more than eight thousand. And above all, while your heart is touched with pity, we wish you also to mentally grasp and rightly to comprehend the great objects which this movement is intended to subserve.

We have now reached the end of the first decade of our existence. Ten years of effort have passed, and the effort has not been in vain. Forty states out of forty-eight have by this time placed on their statute-books laws forbidding the employment of children under fourteen years of age. Forty states have gone on record; eight remain. Among these conspicuous as laggards are the two Carolinas, Alabama and Georgia. But it is not the southern section of our country alone that needs further attention. Though there is more or less adequate legislation in the great majority of the states, there are still enormous obstacles to be surmounted, indifference is to be turned into ardor, and laws that now lie cold in the statute-book as in a tomb are to be resurrected into the life of enforcement.

Such are our aims, and in concluding my words as chairman of the Committee in this initial meeting, I have only to express

the wish that our gathering here may be fruitful toward these ends. For it is in a friendly environment that we meet,—friendly in word, friendly in spirit and friendly in deed, in virtue of the better conditions which here prevail.

The world over, the crescent is deemed the symbol of new light, and of the promise of growth. May our gathering in the Crescent City be for us also the happy omen of new light on the measures we are to adopt, and of the promise of new growth in the attainment of the objects we hold dear.

THE NEED OF A CONSTRUCTIVE APPEAL.

JANE ADDAMS,
Hull-House, Chicago.

It gives me a very great deal of pleasure to come once more to a meeting of the National Child Labor Committee. I think that never before have I had the sense that the cause has become so popular as I have at this convention. We say in the equal suffrage movement, as soon as a town begins to have outdoor meetings the sentiment is all right. So I should think when the city of New Orleans can have an outdoor meeting at which people are willing to stand for several hours upon the subject of child labor, then the cause of child labor is going. And therefore it is with great pleasure that I assist at the inauguration of this tenth annual meeting.

During the many years in which we have been talking about child labor, I have sometimes felt that we have put too much stress upon the negative side; certainly we all believe that the child should be kept out of the factory, that nothing is more unfair than to put the boy down into a mine or that nothing is more disastrous to the future of a little girl than to deprive her of the chance of growth and development; nevertheless emphasis upon that side of it does grow negative, and we ought sometimes to put more stress upon the things society will be able to do for children who are kept out of the factories and have a chance for growth and development.

I never come to New Orleans without going to see your beautiful pottery, and I never see those charming designs which are made in your Sophie Newcomb College without wondering why it is that we do not have more artistic centers in these United States. There is clay everywhere which might be wrought into beautiful shapes. Surely there are young people of ability and susceptibility who might be trained everywhere, did we but have the people to give the attention and the care to them

that you seem to have given in the city of New Orleans. When we reflect on the number of children who might be artists, who might bring beauty and joy to this country of ours—for I come from a city still new and crude, which has very little of the old world civilization back of it, where we are eager for a little more beauty, and for the ineffable touch which the artist gives —then we realize what we are doing when we deprive the country of their development. We know that nothing will so grind out the instinct for art as dreary, monotonous work, undertaken before children are old enough to have that self control which all work demands. It is an irreparable wrong to children too immature to understand the race of life, to place them under the iron pressure and restraint which factory work imposes. When one recalls the romance which New Orleans has produced and the charming stories which have centered here, then again one realizes that to take hundreds of children out of these southern states, where perhaps more than anywhere else they feel the impulse to be out of doors, and to enclose them in the grimy walls of factories, is to deprive these states, and therefore all of the country, of that creative power which transforms and transfigures life's outlook which we so very much need in this undeveloped America of ours. And so one might use that new definition of efficiency, and that new definition of service that depends upon human capacity and future development, to make much more of the positive side of this large child labor problem.

I want to congratulate you that visitors may come to New Orleans to enjoy all that you have to offer without having a bad conscience about the mills. Sometimes one goes to a southern city and is almost afraid to look down the street, because at the end of it will be a large and flourishing cotton factory within which are numbers of little children, and you wish that you had not come to this particular southern city to spend your winter vacation. Your vacation is destroyed because you are haunted by the thought of those little children within a few blocks of your hotel grinding away all day far into the night. But one can come to New Orleans with a clear conscience. One can drive up and down its beautiful streets and look at its old houses without fear or favor; because a recent report made by

the National Child Labor Committee itself states that in all the cities where examination and investigation has been made—I was going to say the state of New Orleans, since Louisiana has so few factories outside of New Orleans—the city of New Orleans heads the list. Therefore we come with more than one sense of pleasure to this city; because we belong to that large group of people in these United States of ours who are sensitive to moral and social conditions, and are unhappy when the moral and the social conditions are wrong. And in the midst of this beauty all about us, here, you have at least secured righteousness so far as little children working in your mills are concerned, and it is fitting that to such a city we should come for our tenth annual meeting.

PROTECTION FOR AMERICAN CHILDREN.

MRS. FLORENCE KELLEY,
General Secretary, National Consumers' League, New York.

We are to speak tonight in behalf of the Palmer Bill, which proposes to give to all the children employed in manufacture throughout this whole nation certain minimum degrees of protection. My only possible contribution to this discussion consists of a few observations of the absurd discrepancy between Uncle Sam's care for industry and for the inanimate world, and the way he shirks his duty towards his children. For instance, in a little village in Maine, where I spent the summer several years ago, one of the neighbors lives in a wretched boat about five miles out at sea. He is a man without a country. He cannot land on American soil, though he is a native of Maine. He will probably never be able to land again on American soil, because some years ago he went into Blue Hill Bay and gathered there 1,560 scallops. On the shores of Maine scallops are inportant items of food, for the people are poor. Their food supplies are very meagre compared with the food supply of New Orleans. Every one is interested that fish and shellfish should be protected by the federal government. We never hear complaints there that the law is too rigidly enforced in behalf of lobsters and scallops. The federal government places a fine of a dollar a scallop for every one taken illegally. This man had taken 1,560 illegally, and will never in the world have $1,560 with which to pay that fine. So he spends the winters in the inclement climate to the north of us, on Canadian soil, and comes back in the summer as near to the home village as he dares, and fishes all summer; and the old neighbors (all of whom say that it is right that the law should be enforced and the fisherman never ought to have taken those scallops), sail out and buy fish and carry him some of the necessaries of life, and there he spends year after year and will, so far as anyone can foresee, as long as he lives.

In the village there is a factory where such herring as are caught in the weirs, and such scallops and oysters and clams and other things as the neighbors might put up legally, each in its own season, are canned for the market. The law of Maine requires that children shall not work in a factory or a cannery until they have completed a specified part of the public school curriculum and until they are at least fourteen years of age. But the factory inspector lives in Augusta, and the nearest Justice of the Peace is twenty-eight miles away, and the roads are often bad.

What effect must it have upon the moral discernment of all the people in that region around about to have that man punished, justly (and the people recognize that it is just, that the food supply should be protected to the uttermost)—what must it do to the moral discernment of the children especially, that the punishment inflicted by Uncle Sam is so rigorous in behalf of the food supply, but that the children may break the law from the time they are nine and ten, and eleven and twelve years old; that they may be taught not to go to school, though they know the law requires attendance; that they may be taught to go to work, though the law forbids it? Because all of that part of the enforcement of the law is politely left by Uncle Sam to the local authorities, who do nothing for the children, while he himself protects the food supply.

I have seen another very curious and sinister example of that same thing in a different part of the country. For four years I was responsible for the enforcement of factory legislation, including the child labor law, in the state of Illinois. One part of the duty of my staff was to enforce the law in the stockyards. I am haunted by a hideous memory of one of the hottest days in the hot month of August, in the year 1894. I was in one of the great cooling rooms, where icicles hung from the ceiling, because the preservation of meat required that the temperature there should never be allowed to rise above the freezing point. All day long wretched little boys at the doors of that cooling room were employed in swinging open at short intervals one of the heavy doors, moving on wheels at the top and bottom, long enough to let a little electric train of flat cars come in on a little narrow gauge railroad, every car piled high with sides of beef. The

day was such that three men working out of doors in the Yards died of sunstroke, and others were stricken and taken away ill from their work. But all day long these little boys went, at short intervals, out from the zero temperature of the cooling-room and held the door open in that torturing heat, while the little train passed in, and then came back swinging the door into the cooling-room again. That work was very simple, opening a door; any little boy could do it for the doors moved on wheels. But the effect of the changing temperature upon those children was such—the excess of chill when they were inside and the excess of heat when they were outside—that always during the warm half of the year there were kept in all those great meat-packing establishments three times as many children on the pay-roll for doing that work as ever were employed at one time—because there were always two children sick for one child well.

In all those plants the federal government was paying federal inspectors to examine the meat with a microscope and in other ways, to make quite sure that the food supply we were shipping to Germany was in a wholesome condition. It was my duty to see to the children. I was responsible for the inspection of every factory, workshop, laundry, sweatshop, tenement work-room in the whole state of Illinois. We had a total appropriation for a staff of twelve persons of $10,000, out of which had to be paid traveling expenses for the inspectors from one end of Illinois to the other, printing, postage and office rent, and counsel fees for defending the constitutionality of the statute and prosecuting offenders. It was an absurd and preposterous allowance of money for the care of the children and the inspection of work-rooms. The state of Illinois had a perfect right to refuse to spend more money than that. The federal government recognized a duty to promote our trade with Germany by spending more money every year on its inspections of the meat of each one of the great corporations than the state of Illinois spent for the whole enforcement of the child labor legislation of the third great manufacturing state in the republic. How confusing to the moral sense of the people employed in that industry, that the the federal government recognizes its duty to keep the meat wholesome, yet leaves it to the sense of duty—or the lack of sense of duty—of the state of Illinois to have all the working condi-

tions of all the working people of that State of Illinois as wretched as any employer might choose to allow them to be.

Such confusing contrasts one can repeat in innumerable instances wherever one is alert to see how we express our sense of duty as a nation; how immeasurably more punctiliously we enforce the laws of the nation than the states feel bound to enforce their own laws for the protection of the most defenceless of their citizens, the young children, the young boys and girls whom poverty constrains to work for their living.

We are bringing on in this republic three classes of citizens, three classes of children. The children of the first class are those fortunate boys and girls who live on the Pacific Coast and in the northwestern states, where every child receives a generous education, every child of sane mind is compelled to receive a generous education. No child along the Pacific Coast may go to work illiterate, no child may go to work defective in stature, no child may work at night. Those will be citizens of the first-class—all the future citizens of Washington, and Oregon, and California, and Idaho and that whole congeries of northwestern states. We may look with confidence to the citizenship of that part of our country forty years hence, when we shall be in our graves and they will be the republic.

The second class of citizens are the immigrant children, who live in the northern and northeastern states. Subject to such derogations as I have been describing, it is still true that the children of the north barring perhaps certain textile manufacturing parts of New England and the mountain regions of the Catskills and Adirondacks, the children who come out of the steerage and settle in the cities, are getting a degree of education which most of us twenty years ago would have regarded as quite Utopian. In the City of New York, sinful as we are in many respects, we have at least prohibited the work of the children in the tenements. We have prohibited the manufacture of articles *for children* in the tenements. We have put the canning industries under inspection and investigation, under the penalty of the law. No immigrant or native child can today, without infinite difficulty, escape the requirement that the child must finish six years of the work of the public schools before it can work for wages, to whomsoever payable. I think the chances of

those immigrant city children are far more brilliant than the chances of the village mill children in my native state of Pennsylvania, because there, I grieve to say, we do not enforce our laws.

Then we are bringing on children of the third class, future citizens of the third class, in Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama and every other state which lacks compulsory education and an efficient enforcement of such provision for the children as the Palmer Bill includes. These are native American white children, whom we are reducing to future citizens of the third class over a very great area of this republic.

I have spoken of the way in which the states fail to enforce their own laws, often fail to enact them. I will cite one more example which has fallen under my observation. During those years when it was my impossible task to enforce the child labor law in Illinois I made the acquaintance of the great Illinois glass bottle works in the city of Alton. No child was too young to work in that factory, though the laws forbade their employment below the fourteenth birthday. The superintendent of the works told me that, a few years before I made his acquaintance, when he was in dire need of some boys to carry bottles, a widow came to him with little children, one in knee pants and one still wearing little kilts. She said that their father had been killed on the railroad and she was penniless; she had gone to the mayor of the city asking help and he had told her to put her able-bodied son at work. The able-bodied son was nine years old. She went to the superintendent who, in his need of boys, yielded to temptation. He said he had remembered it six years with shame. He told that widow that he would not trouble with one little boy, but if she would take home the smaller one and put him also into knee pants and then bring both the children back, he would put them both at work on the night shift. The widow took her little boy home, changed his kilts for knee pants, and took both her little orphan sons back, and they went to work on the night shift in that glass factory. At the moment it was not illegal. Afterwards when I made the acquaintance of the situation the child labor law had been enacted and it was my duty to enforce heavy penalties for such cruelty as that. There were still violations of the law, there were still little children ten years old at work, though they could not legally work at night before they

were sixteen. But though I prosecuted that corporation before the magistrates of the five surrounding counties I never secured a conviction.

After I ceased to be inspector the idea occurred to my successor that, if he should take those defendants and all his witnesses, including the little children, all the way across the state of Illinois to the northern counties, he might be able to obtain a conviction. He made the experiment and succeeded, but he exceeded his appropriation in the process, and the work of inspection had to cease after the prosecution had succeeded. Such a travesty was the enforcement of the law in the third great manufacturing state of this Union.

Now those processes do not occur in the federal courts. There the jurors are not the immediate neighbors of the offenders. I submit to you that in the interest of having one class of citizens in the future, we need one enforcing authority for our legislation for the protection of the children, the federal courts.

THE ABOLITION OF CHILD LABOR, A NATIONAL DUTY.

DR. FELIX ADLER,
Chairman, National Child Labor Committee.

The subject this evening is the Palmer bill, or the nation's duty with respect to child labor. There is considerable diversity of opinion, even among those who heartily believe in our cause, as to the wisdom of federal action. I myself have come to recognize the necessity and propriety of such action after long deliberation, and, I may add, considerable hesitation. And I propose, as my contribution to the program of this evening's meeting, to submit the grounds that have led me to my present position.

In the first place let me reenforce and reemphasize the necessity of abolishing child labor, so that if the state action in this matter is not adequate we may be prepared to understand the reasons upon which national intervention is demanded. And here the strongest argument it seems to me is that the nation must defend its existence by means of an adequate citizenship. The nation's life in many palpable ways, and certainly the nation's worth, depends on the degree to which the citizens are educated. An eminent statesman in England said: "The masses are now the masters. We must educate our masters." In America the masses are not our masters, they are the nation itself, and the nation must be educated. And child labor must be abolished because in the most critical, plastic age of the future citizen, it hinders his education. It makes it impossible for the the foundations to be laid upon which a genuine education can be reared. In discussions of this kind we often find that the enlightenment of a people is estimated by the degree to which literacy has been achieved, and illiteracy expelled. People are divided as it were into sheep and goats, the literate and the illiterate. But it must be obvious, even on slight reflection, that mere literacy, the mere ability to read and write, is not of itself a guarantee of the kind of mental preparation that is required for the exercise

of the franchise in a republic. The essential requirement is judgment. The reading faculty may be compared to a water-main that admits into a city the flood of a river, in which there is both health and foulness, the seeds of disease as well as drink that slakes thirst. The mind that is open to such matter as is contained in newspapers and magazines is exposed to an indiscriminate flood of ideas and suggestions, some right and some wrong, some pure and some corrupt and corrupting, a muddle of truth and error, of fact and falsehood. If the reading faculty is a water-main, the judgment is a filter. The problem of education is to furnish the filter, to develop judgment in the masses. And how is this to be achieved? On what does judgment depend? It depends on a knowledge of principles, and on sensitiveness to the considerations that make principles flexible to conditions. These are the elements of judgment, and it is possible to train the judgment even of the humbler class of workers, by means of vocational training—that is, the right kind of vocational training —and therefore vocational training is of such inestimable importance. It is important not only as enabling the boy or girl to succeed in obtaining higher wages, but as a means of training the judgment, the right vocational training being that which acquaints the worker with the science or the principles that underlie his work, and at the same time gives him the power of adaptation to varying exigencies.

Now it is evident that this kind of education, which is more than literacy, which supplies the filter to the water-main, cannot possibly be furnished to the young unless they are kept in the right school up to fourteen, and also retained under the influence of continuation or part-time schools after fourteen. I believe therefore that the nation should assert itself, and forbid that its future rulers be spoiled in the making. They are of little use as rulers so long as they are mere newspaper and magazine readers. They must be trained so as to be able to judge between the false and the true, between the right and the wrong. The nation is the sovereign, and every sovereign owes it as a prime duty to himself and the state to properly educate the Crown Prince, his successor. I am pleading with you today on behalf of two million Crown Princes of the sovereign people of the United States. So much then to indicate the interest which the nation has at stake

in the abolition of child labor. Now, then, I wish briefly to discuss the further question—granting that the interest is national, the interest of the sovereign in his successors—should the nation act directly in the matter, or leave action to the several commonwealths?

And here we encounter the complex issue of states rights, or of the proper distribution of responsibility and power between the federal government and the states. In seeking light on this question, I find myself invariably baffled by the circumstance that the authors whom one naturally consults seem to consider the subject exclusively in the light of constitutional law. They seldom ask what, in the reason of the case, should be the distribution of power; what functions the federal government should retain, and what should be assigned to the states, but they seem to restrict themselves to inquiring whether the constitution permits or does not permit of some proposed extension of power. They are perhaps like the Pharisees and Scribes of old who, before they venture upon an opinion of their own, inquire whether the text of the Scripture permits of such an interpretation, and who, by the by, always succeed in finding in the text the interpretation they desire.

I ask you to follow me for a few moments while I submit a few commonsense suggestions upon this subject that have occurred to me, in regard to the delimitation of the powers, the rights and duties of the states. I set it down for my guidance, first, that this is veritably a nation; that the nation is an organism, not a bundle of sticks, and that the sovereign commonwealths are organs of the body politic, the body national. Now it seems right and proper for the nation to abstain from exercising its power, and to devolve the national power upon the states in three distinct eventualities: first, when there are local needs that imply and require local knowledge. Where there are local needs which only the citizens of any given locality can properly appreciate, and where the measures of government will enure primarily to the benefit of the inhabitants of the narrower circumscription, there the nation should hold hands off. Secondly, we owe a great deal of our national progress to local experimentation. It is of advantage to the people as a whole that such experiments as that of the referendum, commission government, women's

suffrage and the like, should first be tried in one or more of the states, so that the others may profit by the lessons of failure or success thereby placed at their command. Thirdly, it may be better to entrust matters of national concern to a state if it so happens that the local force and interest is sufficient to guarantee the national interest in the case. Thus it is perfectly safe for the nation to entrust the quarantine of the port of New York to the State of New York; because, notwithstanding the fact that if the plague should be admitted the health and safety of the whole country would be imperilled, yet the citizens of New York would be immediately affected, and local force and sentiment is sufficient to guarantee the exercise of the precautions requisite. We may now submit the question whether the nation itself should act in the matter of child labor to these three tests. Are there any local conditions which might make child labor advisable in one community when it is intolerable in others? The answer is that no local differences can justly be considered to bear in the slightest degree upon this question. Child labor, wherever it exists, from the point of view of civilization, or national progress and humanity, is intolerable. No child under fourteen should be permitted to work, no matter what the fancied needs of the cotton industry, for instance, or any other industry may be; no matter what the race of the child may be, no matter what its antecedents may be, whether it be foreign born or native born.

Next, do we need to await the results of experiment as to whether child labor may or may not be approved of? Experiments of the most deplorable kind have been tried in this connection in England in the early part of the nineteenth century. and have been repeated since *ad nauseam*. We need no additional light or darkness from such experiments. The results have always been the same—degeneracy, depravity, the stunting and crippling of the growing generation. And lastly, and this is the principal point to which I call attention—do the several commonwealths possess the power required to abolish child labor? It is true they can, by laws adequately enforced, prevent child labor within their own borders, but they cannot protect their citizens against the use of child-made articles manufactured in other states. And there is the rub. It must not for a moment be forgotten that what enlightened sentiment demands is not only that the chil-

dren in our own communities shall not be exploited, but enlightened sentiment demands that we shall not be forced against our will and better judgment to encourage child labor by purchasing the products of such labor. Now we cannot protect ourselves against such complicity in what we regard as a crime as citizens of the separate states, since we have relinquished into the hands of the national government the power over interstate commerce, the power of preventing from passing our borders the things that we regard as accursed, the tainted things, the things made at the sacrifice of child life. The nation has taken upon itself, by its Pure Food Laws, to save us from food that is physically tainted. We ask it to save us from the things that are morally tainted. We have not the power to do so as states because we have abandoned to the nation the right to control interstate commerce. The nation therefore should step in and exercise the power of which we have bereft ourselves, and which we have placed in its hands.

It is on this ground that I support the Palmer Bill.

NATIONAL CHILD LABOR STANDARDS.

SAMUEL MCCUNE LINDSAY,
Professor of Social Legislation, Columbia University.

The program committee of the Tenth National Conference on Child Labor has asked me to contribute to the general topic of that conference, "Child Labor and Law Enforcement," a discussion of "How national governmental standards, both legislative and administrative, develop or retard the work of private or local agencies?" This opens up a most interesting and important field of political speculation. It ought to be possible also to appeal to a limited range of governmental experience in America in dealing with matters analogous to child labor, and to some governmental action on that subject itself in foreign countries. We certainly need any light we can get from any source on the perplexing problems of public policy which a federal system of government has to face in dealing with forty-eight partially independent legislative units comprising a closely knit industrial area throughout which commerce is highly organized and competition is very keen.

Before addressing ourselves directly to the subject of national standards we may profitably note the changes that have taken place in the attitude of the National Child Labor Committee itself toward federal or national action. It might be supposed that the chief aim of a national committee would be to seek federal legislation but the original plan or prospectus sent ten years ago to those invited to join the Committee and to take part in the efforts then about to be inaugurated, specifically disavowed federal legislation as a remedy for the evils of child labor and proposed merely to establish a central coordinating and clearing agency for state and local efforts to restrict or abolish child labor with a view to the enhancing of such efforts and the developing of a broader and more intelligent public opinion on the subject. For a time, it seems, there was ample work for the National Child

Labor Committee in organizing new state and local committees and in efforts to get the more backward states to bring their legislation up to the standards of the child labor laws in the more progressive states. With every step of progress in this work the reports to the Committee from all sections showed increasingly the importance of considerations affecting the enforcement of child labor laws whether the standards were high or low. The unexpected magnitude of child labor, the stubbornness of the interests arrayed in its support—employers' profits, parental selfishness and indifference, and the child's aversion to, or the hopeless inadequacy or ineffectiveness of educational opportunities—and the ease with which many forms of child labor eluded any known legislative restraint soon taught the Committee many valuable lessons.

To increase its prestige and put on its work the stamp of national approval, as well as to dispose of the charge that it was sectional in its aim or support, the Committee in June, 1906, asked the Congress of the United States to incorporate the Committee by special act which was done in 1907. Also in 1905-06 special efforts were made to have Congress adopt a model child labor law for the District of Columbia over which it has exclusive jurisdiction. In January, 1906, the National Child Labor Committee had drafted and introduced in Congress a bill to establish a Federal Children's Bureau for the purpose of research and investigation into all the problems of childhood—including child labor —and disseminating authentic reports on the subjects within the scope of its inquiries. This bill became law in 1912. So the knockings at the door of national authority by the National Child Labor Committee have not been infrequent or inconsequential during the first decade of its existence. Yet the Committee did not until a few months ago altogether favor the idea that Congress could or should deal directly with the regulation of child labor. Senator Beveridge, it is true, conceived the idea that Congress through its power to regulate commerce might strike the whole system of child labor a fatal blow by prohibiting the carriers of interstate commerce from transporting or accepting for transportation in interstate commerce the products of any factory or mine in which children under fourteen were employed. The Beveridge-Parsons bill was introduced in both Houses of

Congress in December, 1906, and shortly afterwards the National Committee through its Board of Trustees endorsed the bill and promised to support it. The Third Annual Conference of the National Child Labor Committee held in Cincinnati in December, 1906, was devoted to a consideration of the subject of federal legislation. Senator Beveridge was one of the chief speakers at this conference and made an eloquent plea for his plan. Such wide differences of opinion as to the advisability of any federal interference, and as to its probable effect on other efforts of the Committee, arose in the ranks of the Committee and even in its Board of Trustees which had previously endorsed the Beveridge-Parsons bill, that the Board withdrew its endorsement in November, 1907. Leaving its officers and members free to take any position on the subject they chose, the Board decided that for the Committee officially it was better to wait for further light on the subject, and in the meantime to restrict its efforts to state legislation and educational propaganda.

One factor that was partially responsible for this apparent backward step was that the Committee had supported the demand from Chicago for a national investigation of woman and child wage-earners and Congress had in February, 1907, appropriated $300,000 for such an investigation to be made by the United States Bureau of Labor. It was felt that the results of this inquiry should be awaited before Congress was further urged to enact a national child labor law. That report in nineteen volumes is now before the country and its testimony far exceeds any claims that the National Child Labor Committee has made as to the extent of the evil of child labor and the difficulties in its eradication. No one, I submit, can patiently read that record without a realization of the herculean efforts needed to deal wisely with an evil already so deep-rooted and insidious as to threaten the vitality of our national power, and to diminish our chances of permanent prosperity and industrial supremacy. The report makes no recommendations. A digest of its voluminous contents has not been published and the public is not yet aroused as to its revelations. Yet it has made a deep impression. One national political party which cast the second largest vote for President in 1912 has declared in its platform for federal legislation and has had officially drafted and introduced in Congress the Copley bill to carry out this

pledge. The International Child Welfare League cites the report as evidence for the need of the exercise of federal authority and at its request Senator Kenyon introduced in Congress in 1912 a bill substantially the same as the Beveridge bill of 1906.

Partially as the result of the data of the report, and partially because of the cumulative evidence from its own agents and investigators, the National Child Labor Committee has again recommended federal legislation; and the Palmer-Owen bill introduced at this session of Congress early in the year 1914 represents the matured thought and judgment of the officers and trustees of the Committee and has practically their unanimous support. It is therefore no sudden and ill-considered action that brings us to discuss some of the problems involved in federal child labor legislation.

Congress might well have taken the nineteen volume report of the Bureau of Labor on Woman and Child Wage-Earners, the data for which were collected at such great cost, and put it in the hands of an official commission of experts on the subjects with which it deals, and said to that commission: Take this report, study its details, analyze its contents, deliberate and formulate appropriate action for Congress to take, if indeed there is any proper scope for the exercise of its constitutional powers and duties. Congress has not taken such enlightened steps looking to the utilization of the results of its own investigation. The National Child Labor Committee, however, has had a sub-committee of its Board of Trustees at work on that part of the subject which has to do with working children. The sub-committee has studied the evidence, examined the bills already before Congress, and decided that the general plan indicated in the Palmer-Owen bill is the best first step for Congress to take, namely, merely a declaration of public policy taking away the privileges of interstate commerce, over which the states have been expressly deprived by the Constitution of the United States of any jurisdiction, and hence are impotent to deal with child labor or any other evil which depends to any extent on the privileges enjoyed in interstate commerce, from any person or group of persons employing children within certain general specified age and time limits, leaving to appropriate administrative departments of the federal government the working out of all the complicated administrative machinery necessary to make such a

declaration effective. Such action is unquestionably constitutional and within the scope of Congressional power. Whether it is expedient or not depends in large measure not on precedents, for of direct precedents there are none; and not on analogies to the control of the lottery or other matters which might seem to be indirect precedents for the action proposed; but rather on how effective and fair as to constitutional rights of all parties at interest the administrative details of the application of the general declaration of policy can be worked out. This will be a delicate task requiring legal acumen and research, and patient investigation of the social, legal, and economic data of the reports of the federal and state bureaus of labor and of the data of the Report on Woman and Child Wage-Earners. The Palmer-Owen bill if enacted would probably fail in its initial stages to accomplish what its friends anticipate if the working out of the administrative details is left entirely to the already overworked governmental agencies to which the Palmer-Owen bill so lightly passes over all the really difficult problems it raises. It ought to be in part at least the duty and privilege of the National Child Labor Committee to pledge its resources and its ten years' experience to aid in this work and cooperate with the governmental agencies. The safest plan would be to have much of this work done before the bill becomes law, to have an administrative plan in the hands of Congress when it debates the bill, and perhaps even to follow a favorite English Parliamentary procedure and put the plan of the more significant details of administration into a schedule to be embodied as part of the text of the law itself.

The question of standards is as much a question of standards in administration of the law as it is a question of the standards of public policy set forth in the law, though we usually think more of the latter and overlook the former. National standards in both public policy and administration are needed in dealing with evils like those of child labor which are national in their extent and in their hold on the economic and social forces of the country. To combat child labor successfully we need to unite all the forces of the national authority to those of the state and local authorities, each acting within their respective and proper jurisdictions but so united, cooperative, and comprehensive that there is no "twilight zone" in which no authority acts or in which

conflicting authorities may nullify each other's activities. Efficient administration presupposes and requires cooperative action by all authorities having to deal with the matter in hand. Thus in the efficient administration of a thoroughgoing system of child labor legislation in the United States we need:

(1) A federal law fixing national standards as to ages at which children—either boys or girls, or both—may lawfully work in various occupations to be classified: (a) with respect to the hazards involved to morals, physical development, educational training of the workers, etc., and (b) with respect to hours (number per day and week, night work, etc.).

(2) State laws (as nearly uniform as possible and coordinated with the national standards) (a) to establish state standards with respect to ages and hours of legal employment; (b) to regulate occupations and varities of child labor which would not be covered by any possible national regulation of interstate commerce; (c) to establish higher standards than the national standards wherever local or state industrial conditions and public opinion justify higher standards for occupations or work already within the scope of interstate commerce regulation; (d) to provide for more intensive public inspection and special administrative measures to meet special and local needs.

(3) Local ordinances designed to meet local needs. Power should be given under state laws to local authorities, including the public education authority, to adopt special rules not in conflict with the national or state standards but rather going beyond them and if possible raising those standards for particular groups of children or for particular occupations.

Such a comprehensive and well coordinated plan of legislation is, of course, still only an ideal, far from being realized in any American community in dealing with child labor or any other social evil. That it is not impossible of realization is demonstrated by British achievements in many departments of social legislation, and by the substantial progress in this direction in our latest experiments in public health legislation, conservation legislation, and in dealing with prostitution, adulterated food and drugs, and meat inspection. It is, however, only under a comprehensive and coordinated scheme of federal, state, and local laws that we would have the data for the scientific study of the

effects of national standards on the efforts of private and local agencies engaged in the solution of the evils in question, or in the relief of distress caused by them, or in educational propaganda for their restriction or abolition. National standards of administration can be worked out under such a plan of coordinated governmental action and would ensure greater efficiency in the operation of the law, as British experience in many fields such as the poor law, health regulations, municipal accounting, housing reform, etc., abundantly shows, and our own recent experience under the Pure Food and Drugs Act and the Mann White Slave Act demonstrates. The national or central authority by reason of the greater magnitude of its task, is compelled to make comprehensive plans and surveys of the work to be done. It may and usually does provide forms and specifications for administration which all inferior authorities can be induced to use or should be compelled by law to use. Its reports should present for all agencies both governmental and private and for the general public a comparative study of results. The standards of the national authority stimulate competition and rivalry between local authorities who are anxious to do at least as well in their respective spheres as the national officers of the law, or win recognition and public applause through some connection with the more widely advertised activities of the federal authorities. Recently I heard of an official of a private charitable society in a southern city and the local police and detectives of that city being aroused to unusual effort by a telegram to the private official from a federal officer asking cooperation in meeting a train and looking for a party suspected of being involved in a white slave case, because as the local officials put it: "Here is a chance for us to get in on something big where there will be results."

National standards may operate practically to make national officials responsible for the supervision of the trial of offenders, cooperating with local prosecuting officers in cases which do not come within the jurisdiction of federal courts and securing their cooperation in all cases which can be brought within federal jurisdiction, which is the surest way to secure speedy impartial trial of issues without danger from the timidity of local officials in dealing with their political friends and neighbors. In England, almost from the beginning when factory inspection was provided

under the law of 1833, it has been held that greater efficiency is due to the fact that these officials are not local residents but are appointed by and responsible to a central national authority. Local officials on the other hand can furnish detailed knowledge which is essential and cannot be wisely eliminated or ignored. They need only be relieved of the onus of initiating prosecutions.

All governmental action necessarily involves the principle of compulsion without exceptions unless exceptions by defined classes are provided for in the law. The work of private agencies gives room for experimentation and individual adaptation or regulation on the basis of voluntary acceptance of the regulation as a result of education and conviction. The national, state and local child labor committees, like all private agencies engaged in social reform, have for their special field of effort, agitation, collection and dissemination of information, and the banding together in effective organization for political action of those who think and feel alike with respect to the evils of child labor. They have, therefore, a very real interest in the greater efficiency which national standards of public policy and administration in child labor legislation would create. They cannot be affected otherwise than beneficially by the adoption of national standards, because all the experience of English legislation and recent federal legislation in this country, especially on the subjects of pure food, sanitation and regulation of vice, goes to disprove the old superstition that national legislation renders state or local enactments unnecessary, that when Uncle Sam acts administratively, state and local governmental authorities may cease all further efforts along the same lines, and private organizations of citizens interested in establishing standards may disband. Rather is the need the greater for coordinate and supplementary action by all such parties in proportion as the national activity is comprehensive and efficiently operative.

A new view of checks and balances in government in the United States is quite unconsciously becoming an essential part of our constitutional system. The constitutions upon which federal and state governments alike were founded in America provided for checks and balances whereby one great division of government was rendered relatively independent of another, while at the same time joint action was requisite for governmental

action. Thus legislative, executive and judicial functions are supposed to be distributed. This is found to be largely a legal fiction when we examine the actual workings of the system. There is no legal fiction in the new view of checks and balances which efficient citizenship has evolved. The new checks and balances which are to secure liberty and effective action by government agencies consist in private organizations of citizens who think and feel alike, and have a special interest in some department of governmental activity to which they are willing to pledge time and money in order to watch, stimulate, criticize and support the activities of the public authority.

To secure ideal standards, national or local, we must presuppose ideal citizens, educated, alert, knowing what they want and organized to demand efficiency of their public servants. Private organizations will need more and more to develop methods of recording and judging comparatively the action of governmental agencies, and in the development of standards for such work the interaction of national governmental standards with the work of private and local agencies will be most strongly felt and potentially helpful to both. National standards may be relied upon under normal and proper development to stimulate rather than repress the organization of private societies to do such work as that in which our child labor committees are now engaged, and to promote cooperation among local agencies, both governmental and private, by making their work more worth while.

LAW WITHOUT ENFORCEMENT.

A. J. McKelway,
Secretary for the Southern States, National Child Labor Committee.

Says an old Persian proverb, "When even one wronged child cries in the dark, the Throne of God rocks from side to side."

Obedience to law is a mark of civilization; the violation of law is a characteristic of barbarism, and where law is concerned with the protection of childhood against wrong, its violation sinks below barbarism into savagery. Law, in one conception of it, is part of the moral order of the universe. A righteous law harmonizes with divine law. The non-enforcement of nature's laws would mean chaos. The non-enforcement of such a righteous law as one which protects childhood against the wrongs of its oppressors tends to anarchy itself.

For ten years the National Child Labor Committee, at these annual conferences, has been discussing mainly the question of legislation for the protection of children; legislation that should supplement child labor laws, by adding to the prohibition of child labor the demand for the education of every child, for individual training and for vocational direction. At the end of ten years of study and investigation, of education and agitation, of writing, speaking and pamphleteering, of investigation through at least three of the bureaus of the federal government, through state bureaus of labor and departments of factory inspection, with the results thus obtained presented to the legislatures of forty-eight states, and accompanied by the appeals of all manner of economic and humane associations, we are still far from reaching, in most of the states, the standard of legislation which has been established by the verdict of our generation.

On the side of law enforcement, we have only begun to make progress. It is too much a habit of our American thinking to regard the passing of a law as the remedy for every abuse. Perhaps it is because of the multitude of laws enacted by more or

less competent legislative bodies, that we hardly regard any law upon the statute books as a rule of conduct until the law is enforced. It is, of course, a great step forward when what is immoral becomes also criminal. There is a certain type of mind and conscience that regards everything as moral, until the law makes it a crime, and this is especially the case where helpless children are concerned, who cannot resist or resent the injury done them.

Ten years ago, in the absence of a law prohibiting the employment of children, it was freely argued in several of the states that such a law would be itself immoral, because child labor was a good thing even for the child. But the laws of forty-seven states have made child labor, in some form or other, a crime, and we hear very little today of the argument that the working child should be without any protection at the hands of the State. Yet a million children of this generation will have a grievance against the states in which we live and the nation itself, not only that laws were not enacted that might have saved them from the consequences of too early toil, but that the State itself, the mother of us all, has regarded the violation of child labor laws as so light a thing, that no steps were taken, either to vindicate the authority of the State, or to protect these helpless children from exploitation. Ten years ago, when I entered upon the work of the National Child Labor Committee after some newspaper experience in advocating the passage of a child labor law, I was most hopeful and sanguine concerning the early accomplishment of the purposes for which the National Child Labor Committee was organized. I can remember now, as I went through some of the mills of North Carolina, which then had a nominal twelve-year age limit, looking upon the faces of children twelve years of age and thinking that by the speedy enactment of the fourteen-year age limit at the very next session of the legislature, we could save these children from the maw of the mill. It is with infinite sadness that I think how grievously I was mistaken. Instead I should have looked upon babies in the cradle who have come to work since that time—ten years ago, and said, "We shall not be able to save you from entering employment." If I had been a true prophet I should have foreseen that children who were unborn ten years ago, would be working in the mills of North Carolina at ten years of age before the law would come to their relief. Al-

though the age limit in that state is nominally thirteen years, an exemption in the law for children working in an apprenticeship capacity, forced on the legislature through legal cunning hired by selfish greed, has been universally interpreted to mean that any child over twelve years might be employed in any capacity by the simple expedient of calling them apprentices. The proof is overwhelming and incontestable that, in spite of the law, children eight and ten years of age were employed in North Carolina, until last year for a twelve-hour day, and are now employed for an eleven-hour day.

Until January 1st of this year, there has been no effort to enforce the child labor law in North Carolina. Grand juries in cotton mill counties refused to bring in a true bill against the violations of the law upon the advice of prosecuting officials. Every effort that has been made in ten years to give to the Commissioner of Labor the right to inspect factories and to see whether the law was observed has been successfully fought by the employers of children. On the first of January of this year, a law which recommended itself to the law-making body because of its economy, to say nothing of its futility, became operative. Under it the County Superintendents of Schools were charged with the duty of inspection. Some of them have already given notice that they do not expect to attempt the fulfilment of this task, so the children go unprotected in spite of the law which was designed to protect them, because its violation is absolutely safe.

I have been given notice, by some of the better class of security and casuality companies, that other companies have solicited the business of insuring these corporations against damage suits for accidents to children, regardless of the child labor law. It is such a safe thing to violate this law, that, in the calculations of insurance officials, no extra risk is involved. If one of these habitual violators of the law should defraud one of his fellowmen of a sum of money, he would be tried, convicted and sentenced to the county chain gang or the state's prison, according to the amount of the sum he stole; but to defraud a child of his rights, to rob him of his health, of his period of playtime and growth, of his opportunity which we call education, of his sleep during the night season—this is only nominally a crime and the defrauder goes scot free.

When we come to consider the appropriations made by our southern states, for this vital matter of carrying out the will of the State, as expressed in its statutes, for the protection of its own children, we are met by the rather disgraceful fact that the State evidently cares more for its cotton, its cattle, its hogs, and sheep, and even its game birds than it does for its children. I remember a little incident that occurred once in the legislature of Georgia, during the debate on the first child labor law which the state saw fit to enact. The only negro member of the legislature, when the roll was called and an opportunity given for five minute speeches, arose and said something like this, "Mr. Speaker, I am not especially interested in this bill; the children of my race are not employed in the factories and we are trying as far as we are able to send them to school, but we have been legislating here this session for the birds of the air, the beasts of the field, and the fish of the sea, and I am in favor of doing something for the little white children of Georgia." In the session of the Florida legislature last summer, the child labor bill had passed the Senate, and I knew would pass the House if it could be brought to a vote. I had been coaching, without his knowledge, one of my friends in the legislature who had agreed to champion the bill in the House and among other things I told him of this negro's speech. One afternoon towards the close of the session, the House passed a new game bill for the protection of game, and I nudged my friend and told him this was his opportunity. He immediately arose and said, "Mr. Speaker, we have just been legislating here for the birds of the air, the beasts of the field and the fish of the sea, and I am in favor of doing something now for the little white children of Florida." Whereupon the House, without objection, took up the child labor bill and passed it with unanimous vote.

I shall let other speakers tell of the success or failure of administration in other sections of the country. As a southern man, speaking in this southern city of my own section, I shall confine myself to confessing our own sins.

Taking up the states one by one, Maryland, at the session of the legislature preceding this, reorganized its Bureau of Labor and added several workers to the staff. Yet some of the appointments were purely political, and therefore were not made upon the basis of merit or with any idea of efficiency. I have seen the

reports of some of the inspectors appointed by the governor of the state, and they could have been better prepared. I have no doubt the work could have been more competently performed by some of the eight-year-old children who had been trained in the schools.

Virginia has two inspectors under the Commissioner of Labor who have been most effective in the enforcement of the law. But they confess that with the great number of manufacturing and mercantile establishments in the state which come under their jurisdiction, and with other laws besides the child labor law to enforce, all they can do is to secure by prosecution a few convictions as a deterring example to other violators of the law.

North Carolina has, as I have said, almost no provision for factory inspectors. The Commissioner of Labor is not able to obtain any information from a factory which it does not desire to give and has no right to enter any manufacturing establishment without the consent of the owner.

In South Carolina there are two inspectors under the Commissioner of Agriculture, Commerce and Industries, who are faithful and energetic in their work. Through a good system of records they are able to keep up, as well as can be expected, with the children who are illegally employed, that is, the children under twelve years of age. The area of South Carolina is small so that the necessary amount to travel is not very large.

In Louisiana, through the efforts of the first factory inspector, Miss Jean Gordon, a high standard of law enforcement was reached in New Orleans alone. This standard has been maintained by her successor with the aid of the workers themselves, and good women of the city who were willing to put themselves out to report violations of the law.

In Texas, a recent investigation by one of our agents showed that the law was well observed. But great fields of child employment which were not embraced in the law were noted and recorded with his camera.

In the new states of Arizona and Oklahoma, excellent laws have been written and high standards of child protection were set with the transition from the territory into the state. The fact that these are high-waged states leads many to believe

that the laws are fairly well observed, though we have had no investigation of our own of this matter.

In Arkansas, a Bureau of Labor was established by the last legislature, which doubtless has made a beginning in the enforcement of a hitherto unenforced law.

The Tennessee legislature increased the force of factory inspectors from one to five, and it is hoped that the violations of the law will not be so common as they were before the first factory inspector was appointed three years ago.

In Florida, one inspector has been appointed at a salary of $1,200, with no appropriation for printing the law, or preparing the blanks necessary for the execution of the law. Recently the governor of the state was fairly assaulted by a group of earnest women who demanded that something be given for this purpose from the governor's contingent fund. Yet if a larger appropriation had been asked for it would probably have meant the defeat of the factory inspection bill.

Georgia has a commissioner of the Department of Labor, with one assistant. He has been unable to attempt anything by way of enforcement of the child labor law because of the amount of office work necessary for preparing the statistics of industry. At the session of the legislature last summer, the appeals he made for additional appropriations and equipment were as pitiful as they were futile.

In Alabama, the Inspector of Jails and Factories had done a great service to humanity by requiring some degree of sanitation and decency in the county jails and prisons, even to the extent of requiring that many of them should be torn down. His two assistants have been able to do some work of factory inspection, yet agents' reports and the photographic records recently made, have demonstrated the fact beyond peradventure, that the law is habitually violated. The proof of its violation is furnished by birth records, insurance papers and the testimony of the family Bible (which the inspectors did not have time to examine). In mills in Alabama, controlled by Massachusetts capital, it seems to have been agreed that, when the standards of legislation and law enforcement which exist in Massachusetts touch Alabama's soil, it could be said of all child labor regulations, "Alabama, here we rest."

In Mississippi the enforcement of the child labor law enacted two years ago was left to the county sheriff, who was charged to visit the establishments employing children once a month, while the county health officer was charged to visit all factories employing children twice a year and report to the sheriff children physically incapacitated for the work required. There was never a greater farce enacted for the enforcement of law. The investigation of the Mississippi factories, recently made by two agents of the National Child Labor Committee, has shown a situation that would be ridiculous if it were not tragic. The Mississippi legislature was asked to enact a bill providing for a factory inspector. A compromise agreement was made lowering the child labor standards to some extent, on condition that the factory inspection bill should pass.

Kentucky has one state labor inspector and one woman inspector, with the duty laid upon school superintendents to enforce the law in regard to certificates and report violations. It is needless to say that this force is entirely inadequate to the task, and as a result, the children are not protected by the law which was passed for their benefit. The enforcement of the law in West Virginia is also a failure. The Commissioner of Labor is apparently so indifferent to the performance of his duties, that the situation is little better since the adoption of a more advanced child labor law than it was before.

To my mind such facts as these furnish the strongest argument for the enactment of a federal child labor law. The states have expressed the will of the people that child labor shall be prohibited under certain ages, and that the exploitation of children must be stopped; but the will of the people is violated through the legislative agents of the employers who make a mighty argument for economy whenever it is proposed to establish a department of factory inspection or to equip the department with an adequate force. Thus the will of the people of the states has been thwarted and the abuse of childhood continues in almost unabated measure. But the people of the states and the people of the nation are the same people. They have tried an ineffective method of protecting the children of the states and of the nation; they not only have a constitutional but a moral right to try another method, and I have yet to meet anyone who says

that a federal law would not be effective. When it is possible for any friend of the children who sees a child illegally employed in a mine or factory, any of whose products are transported across state lines, to drop a postal card to the Department of Justice and start the whole machinery of the federal government for the conviction of the offender, we shall have a different state of affairs.

Why should not this great nation intervene for the protection of her children? They are to be her citizens in time of peace and her soldiers in time of war. Under the Fourteenth Amendment, a citizen of the state is also a citizen of the nation. If that was revolutionary, the revolution has already been accomplished. I hold that the future citizen of the state is the future citizen of the nation. On questions of property that has already been demonstrated to be true. If the property of a minor child is taken away without due process of law under the act of the state legislature, the federal government intervenes. Are not the rights of the child to health, happiness, and a good education more important than the rights of property, especially when these are the only rights of the propertyless children with whom we are mainly concerned? As I said at Cincinnati seven years ago, in discussing this very question, I say again:

> "This nation, of which the South is a loyal part, has set its face already as a flint against the oppression of childhood. It is not going to tolerate it one instant longer than it can be helped. And the danger always is, in a democracy, that when it has become passionately aroused it may be indiscriminate in its punishment. There is no power on earth like the appeal which helpless childhood makes. There is no vengeance like that of the lioness robbed of her whelps. And woe betide those who would stand in the way of this nation, once it has heard the piteous cry of the children, and is rushing to their defense and their salvation."

CHILD LABOR—A MENACE.

PAULINE M. NEWMAN.
General Organizer, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

There is no movement and no subject nearer to my heart than the movement which tends to do away with the unnecessary evil—child labor. This subject is near to my heart simply because I happen to know the evils of child labor not from observation, or investigation, but from bitter experience. I shall probably never forget the day when I first went to work; it was then that I realized the disappointment and painfulness of child labor. I was a child—not quite fourteen—and to me, one of sixteen and even seventeen is still a child. The factory I worked in was situated facing a park, strange as this may seem, for the factory districts in New York do not, as a rule, have parks around them. However that was the case about fourteen years ago. Through the window I could see children playing in the park. Some of them seemed to be older than I, some younger, but all seemed to be very happy. All were playing with the trees, caressing the grass, smiling at the flowers—in short, those children were enjoying the beauty of a summer's day, under a bright blue sky. To this very day I don't know how, but I suddenly stopped working and was looking out of the window. How I wanted to be out in the open and play with those children! How my young soul yearned to be free at that moment! But suddenly I felt a firm hand upon my shoulder and heard a voice informing me that I did not come there to dream, but that I had come to work. It was then that I learned the fact that even though one is a dreamer by nature, one must forget it while at work. One must not dream in a mill, mine or factory; one must work, work, and work. Get up at half-past five or six o'clock in the morning, hardly any time to breakfast, rush off to work, come back tired and worn out, just ready to go to sleep; get up again, at the same hour, go in the same direction, see the same faces, do the same work, week after week, month after month, and year after year. How tiresome! How monotonous!

It was long after I had left the factory that I wanted to get my experience in a mill. I always believed in getting first hand information. One can hardly realize what mill work means unless one has really been there. I worked in a cotton mill in Wauregan, Conn., and I claim that there is no other industry—and I have worked in quite a few—which is more deadening to the mind and body than mill work. From the noise of the looms one is apt to become deaf—personally I could not hear for several days. The air is suffocating; the work itself is trying on your patience and on your nerves. After working for one year in a mill one must become a nervous wreck.

In these mills you will find girls, young girls, who operate as many as eight looms at one time. In passing let me say this to you: whenever you hear of a union objecting to a six and eight loom system, do not misunderstand them, for they mean well. We claim that two looms is more than enough for any man or woman to attend. To operate more than two is to disregard one's health and one's life. Let it also be remembered that even those women who run six and eight looms, are not earning more than seven or eight dollars a week.

In the mills of Fall River, I have met children who did not look to me more than ten years of age. True, the state of Massachusetts has a 14-year age limit; nevertheless, I could not get myself to believe that those children were really fourteen years old. Physically they were not developed, dry of lip and shrunken in body; children without light in their eyes, without color in their cheeks and without song on their lips. I remember asking one of the little boys whether he ever played. That little fellow looked at me with his lifeless eyes as though in surprise, and answered, "No, I never played." You who did have some years in which to play, will hardly be in a position to realize what it all means, but use your imagination and try to place yourself in that child's position, for a few moments at least, and you will then understand the significance of the child's answer. Think what it must mean to a child who never can play; who is deprived of sunshine and air, of love, and of life itself! And let us not forget that we only have one childhood!

If every person would only realize this simple fact, that we are depriving the children of something which we can never re-

turn to them again, they would surely act differently and understand the problem of child labor better. We are often not conscious of our mistakes. Child labor in this country—by some people at least—is taken for granted. Some of them think that it makes the "kiddies independent." There are other people again, who say that "the children want to work, and as long as they want to why should society prevent them?" It is curious that the children of the rich are never accused of "wanting" to go to work. The whole theory is wrong, and the only hope that some of us can see is in the work of two movements. These two movements are embracing more and more movements, more and more people, who will together, not only regulate child labor, but abolish it entirely. These two movements are no other than the National Child Labor Committee, and the Organized Labor Movement.

Organized labor appreciates the work of the National Child Labor Committee, for we are trying to discourage and to do away with child labor as much as it is possible and we are succeeding to an extent. While we are trying to do the work on the economic field, the National Child Labor Committee does it on the political field. Here you have both armies working, each in its own way, to wipe out this blot of our civilization—child labor. In my opinion there is no greater crime in the world than that of murdering little children. For murder it is indeed.

Child labor is not a necessity in this country, in so far as industry is concerned. Bear this in mind. The only reason for child labor today, is that a child's labor and skill is bought cheaper than that of an adult. The effect of this employment of children is not only to reduce wages of adults, but absolutely to preclude the possibility of the children themselves growing into sane and healthy adults. There is no doubt in my mind as to the connection between exploited child labor and vagrancy. And what else are we to expect? Are they even once given a chance to develop their minds? How can we expect them to grow up into intelligent men and women when they are robbed of every chance to develop the best that is within them?

The outlook upon life of a child of twelve or fourteen, emerging illiterate and listless from five or six years of labor at hard and monotonous work is hopelessly blank, and it is no wonder so

many children with such a past develop into tramps and useless beings—useless so far as humanity is concerned.

Let it be understood that no one person is to be blamed for it. The whole system is wrong; child labor is by no means the only evil. But times are changing and better times are coming. The work of the National Child Labor Committee proves it; the work of organized labor proves it; and the work of all other movements wherein men and women feel that something is wrong. And no sooner do people begin to think that something is wrong in society, than that "something" will not last long.

Every one realizes that the industrial system does not have to depend upon the labor and skill of humanity's tender buds. All over this country we are confronted with the terrible problem of unemployment. Cities and states have been spending thousands upon thousands of dollars in investigating the causes of unemployment. Every person is asking the vital question as to "what is to be done with the unemployed?" My answer is this: take out the children from the mines, mills, and factories, and put the unemployed adults in their stead. Don't you think that this would solve the unemployed problem? And while this problem is now in an acute position, nevertheless there is always an army of unemployed people who are eager and willing to work, but who are denied the opportunity.

I would shorten the hours of labor, thereby giving other people a chance to work a few hours a day. Oh, I have remedies all right, if I only had the power. You see, friends, it is because such remedies can cure the existing evils, and because men and women are at last beginning to think of these evils and remedies that we can hope for the best.

In conclusion I want to say that the time is coming when all of us, regardless of our political belief, nationality or creed, will get together and devise the best ways and means to do away with things that are detrimental to individuals as well as to society as a whole. And in the future, which is not so very far off, we shall all come together and review our work of the past, for then, child labor will be a thing long forgotten. To do this you must all join this movement with your heart and soul, and you must be ready to help every other movement which tends to abolish all evils, including the greatest evil of all—child labor.

ENLIGHTENING THE PUBLIC.

MRS. PERCY V. PENNYBACKER,
President of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

For three days it has been my privilege to attend inspiring meetings of this convention, and with me every hour has been the thought of what I might take back to the organization that I represent. At least a third of your speakers have shown that the women of America may render service to the child labor movement by arousing public interest, by making local investigations and by educating individual citizens.

Let us consider very briefly the duty of our women towards local research. We, of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, feel that this Child Labor Conference is the expert scientific leader, but that there is necessity for civil authorities, for private citizens, to show the conference the local needs, because the conference can be neither omniscient nor omnipresent. For example, we of the South would like to ask your careful consideration of a problem that oppresses us, the problem of the agricultural child. I wish that you from other parts of the country could know what this means to that part of the Southland where cotton is the great staple. I wish that you would go into the country schools, where there should be an enrollment of sixty-two pupils, and see, as some of us have seen, four children in attendance.

When it comes to arousing public opinion and securing legislation, the General Federation of Women's Clubs will promise you its support in the future, as it has given it to you in the past. Miss Gordon spoke of the "shaking" method, and one gentleman spoke of the "caressing" method, of influencing law makers. Some of us use what we call the "previous method"; that is we interview candidates before election time to ascertain how they stand on great humanitarian questions; we find that the candidates are then much more willing to be amiable and to commit themselves than after the ballot has been cast.

The greatest need of the conference, however, is to inform the individual man and woman as to what this organization really is, for as yet only the smallest minority of the people in our country have real knowledge concerning the child labor movement. I am going to make a confession. Not a great while ago, I became discouraged by the ignorance existing concerning the General Federation of Women's Clubs. Our organization will celebrate its twenty-fifth anniversary next June at the Chicago Biennial. We have not only a Federation in every state in the Union, but most of these states are sub-divided into districts, corresponding often times to the congressional divisions of the state. It is a tribute to the organizing power of women that this great system of the general, the state, the district and the city Federation, with hundreds of individual clubs and with more than one million members at home and abroad moves smoothly wheel within wheel, with a minimum amount of friction and an encouraging amount of efficiency. In spite of all this, we find on every side intelligent men and women who know almost nothing of the organization, its plans and its purposes. In an hour of depression, I decided to investigate how much the people knew about other organizations, especially yours. I asked thirty men and women, representing different sections and different walks of life, to tell me frankly what they knew of the National Child Labor Committee. The men from Texas replied, vaguely but courteously, that the Committee was a good thing, that it had as its main object, the prevention of the large manufactories in the North employing child workers. The North and South Carolinians replied that the Committee was a good thing, but that it had little to do with their section; it concerned the poor children who were working in the coal mines. The coal mining people said, yes, the Committee was a good thing, that it dealt particularly with the children in the cotton fields, who were kept for four or five months out of school. Some people knew absolutely nothing. Now you see even those who thought they were posted, felt that the Committee dealt with some far-away problems; they did not know that it came into the daily life of their home community. To do the most effective work, we must bring this cause to the individual man and woman. What means shall we employ?

You have been wise in making free use of photographs; some of us will never be able to forget the faces you have shown us. Can you not tonight see the little worker in the tenement house and the boy with the maimed hand from the factory? Let us go a step further and utilize the moving picture shows; they will reach thousands who never see the literature that the Committee has sent out. Why can't somebody be inspired to write a great romance that shall set forth the evils of child labor? With all the talent that is in this country, why should not someone produce a drama that would portray these evils in vivid fashion? I would go one step further. Why should we not use the pageant to bring to the very doors of the people the evils we would have corrected?

Too long have we given up pageants to military display and to the season of Mardi Gras. It is only recently that we have realized their educational power. A year ago I looked at the inaugural parade as it came down Pennsylvania Avenue, and I thought that a foreigner or a young child viewing this procession might well think it was some military hero returning from his conquest, rather than a great civic leader who was being inaugurated into what we hope will be a peaceful administration. As I looked, I closed my eyes, and saw another inaugural procession, that God grant we may some day have in America. Instead of the array of military forces, I saw a mighty army representing every industry in America. Side by side, there marched those who toiled with the hands and those who labored with the brains. As they came, they carried, as in days of old, the insignia of their trade emblazoned on their banners. When our President reviewed this great army of peace and prosperity, he might well say, "These are indeed the people whose destinies I am to guide." Viewing such a scene, our children might well say, "America delights to honor the triumphs of peace even more than the triumphs of war."

Why should we not carry out the same idea in a pageant setting forth the horrors of child labor? If everyone in New Orleans could actually see child slavery as it exists in some parts of the country, do you believe that the citizens of New Orleans would rest until they had done their share to obliterate this? Do you believe that in any state of the Union, if men and women

actually knew the facts, that they would be content with present conditions? No. To bring about this enlightenment, however, will take an army of laborers.

Let me present to you a force that might well be utilized for so noble a purpose. The more one travels the more one visits in private houses, the more one studies social conditions, the more thoroughly does he become convinced that there are hundreds of restless, dissatisfied women.

There is the girl home from school or college. Gifted with a strong personality, she has for three or four years taken an active part in all phases of college life; she returns to her family with high ideals of service; she wishes a vocation. Her parents, who are in comfortable circumstances, oppose her becoming a wage-earner. She assumes certain duties about the home, but her mother still in the prime of life wisely keeps the reins of management. She does her share of church work; she joins a club; she goes into society; she is reasonably fond of men, but is rather exacting; her ideals of matrimony are high; she will not yield until the right chevalier comes a-wooing. After two or three years, she grows unhappy; she feels that life is not what she dreamed; she is conscious of wasted powers. Each year will increase this feeling unless matrimony or the much desired vocation overtakes her.

Type number two is the young married woman, whose husband is necessarily compelled to be out of the city constantly. With a warm heart and strong maternal instinct, she unfortunately has no children and is condemned to a life of boarding. Let me digress long enough to say that no life tends to develop so many unlovely and so few desirable traits as a prolonged sojourn in hotels or boarding houses. This wife has abundant leisure; she does not care much for reading or study, but she is a born organizer and executor. She knows her power and would like to use it, but she has fallen in with a gay, surface-living group of people and does not know how to place herself anew. The consciousness that she is not living up to her birthright makes her at times uncomfortable.

Again, we have on every side the moderately successful teacher, a mature woman of attractive personality, by inheritance and training a scholar and investigator. She has gone into the

school room, not because she loves teaching, but because self-support is a necessity and this vocation follows the line of least resistance for many women. She has grown to dislike what is to her a deadly routine; she droops under the constant confinement; the discipline is irksome; she longs for more leisure and wider opportunity to study and to write concerning the things most dear to her. She knows she is not giving the world her best service, she is not making her pupil an ideal instructor, but she has not the courage to seek new fields of labor. Yet social service has salaried positions for such a one.

A fourth class is the widow, whose husband during a long married life kept her in entire ignorance of his business affairs. This was done, perhaps, to shield her from what he thought was the contaminating influence of the outside world. They had lived simply so that she had slight realization of their wealth. Her husband's sudden death leaves her the possessor of a fortune. Slowly, but surely, she awakens to her responsibility. She gives freely to the church, but she is conscious that there are many other calls to which she should respond. She wishes both to give and to work, but she has had little training for either.

Lastly comes the mother whose children are grown and settled in life. She has been such a busy woman that when abundant leisure comes into her orderly home, she is rather appalled by it. Still in physical and mental vigor, possessed of unusual powers, which up to this hour have been exercised exclusively in her own home, she looks about for new work and resents the discovery that she is catalogued by the community as belonging to the superannuated class, whose chief duty must henceforth be to look after and spoil their children's children.

If you can interest and train these five groups of women, you will have nobly served your cause and have enriched the lives of the women themselves. Perhaps you ask why the General Federation of Women's Clubs does not devote itself exclusively to the service of the child labor cause? You must remember that we have eleven great departments of work and that we have no right to specialize on any one to the detriment of the other ten. To be true to our ideals, we must be broad in our interest. If our organization has retired into the background of the child labor question, this does not mean that we are not working to help

you solve the problem. Our social and industrial department issues this clarion call to the women of America:

> "Our duty is not done when our own home is well kept and our own children well cared for. We must work to insure the same blessing to all homes and to all children. How can we sleep when more than two million boys and girls are robbed of childhood in mines and factories, when danger lurks on every corner for young girls, when the White Plague and the White Slave stand as spectres at our bedsides, and when the Black Plague stands before the portal of dreams."

The Civil Service Reform Department points to a long procession of children, who with their darkened eyes and deadened ears stretch their wan hands to us as they pass and cry: "Oh, mothers of happy children, blessed with all the riches that God vouchsafes to man, see to it that we are given teachers and guardians, men and women trained for this special service and not employed to reward some political service."

I go from you, friends, with my courage renewed and strengthened, to take back the message of the work you are doing. The Committee has marked a golden mile stone by this New Orleans meeting. If we of the Southland prove true to the ideals that have been here set before us, we will resolve not to rest until a happy, developing childhood is assured to the young people of the country.

THE CHILD IN THE STREET.

His Grace James H. Blenk,
Archbishop of New Orleans.

Long ago one of the greatest and most popular speakers that ever addressed an audience, namely the great Irish liberator, Daniel O'Connell, sent out his voice to ten thousand listeners and everyone, it seems, heard and understood every word he uttered. I wish there could be ten thousand and more gathered here this afternoon and that like O'Connell's voice, mine might reach every ear, speaking in behalf of another liberation which we need, as it was needed in Ireland, here in this land which is called the land of the free. Two million children and more are not free in our land. Modern industrial society is in part built upon the prostrate forms of children. The child under fourteen that is set to work becomes physically stunted, mentally crippled and gets no chance to be in school at the time the mind is plastic. As Dr. Adler says in "Child Labor and the Republic," "Morally the exploited child has no chance. . . . If we continue to sanction premature child labor, we not only degrade and lower the standard of citizenship, but we prevent that future growth, the development of American civilization, and that new type of manhood which we must give the world in order to contribute to the world's riches. We prevent the evolution of that type; we cut off that dream." The country's most valuable asset is the child. The child means more to the community than any material gain. Professor Charles Henderson in speaking of the obligations which our wealth imposes upon us rightly remarks:

> "1. First of all, our numerous and rapidly increasing wealth takes from us the paltry excuse that child labor is necessary to support industry. So long as strong and willing men and women are almost begging for employment, it is false to claim that the commodities needed by human society require the exploitation of childhood.
>
> "2. Nor can we say with any shadow of reason that the labor of any child under fourteen is necessary to support a widowed mother or a sick father. Indeed, no state or nation can afford to offer up such a sacrifice

to such an end. The widowed mother and the sick father should, indeed, have the relief which their wants require, but let that be done at the expense of the capable and the successful, not at the cost of innocent and immature human beings. The nation must not use up its children in the present because they are needed in the fullness of their strength in the future.

"3. If our industries were required to prevent all avoidable accidents and diseases due to the hazard of occupation and by a system of insurance provide for all families temporarily or permanently deprived of income by injury or invalidism, there would be less need than now of either public or private charity, and children would not be asked to carry a burden which manufacturers should bear."

We should all stand for laws establishing better and safer conditions for labor, and particularly for laws which try to keep greed from robbing children of their American birthright to education and freedom. Right here in New Orleans we have conditions which we should study and regulate. We have devoted our time so far almost exclusively toward the improvement of conditions in manufacturing and mercantile establishments. The time has come for the attention of the nation to be directed toward the premature employment of children in street occupations: newspaper selling, peddling, bootblacking, messenger service, delivery service, running errands and tending market stands. The employment of all children under fourteen years of age in any gainful occupation ought to be prohibited, but street occupations being more dangerous from a material, physical and moral standpoint than any other occupation, I would raise the age limit or them to sixteen.

The ordinary newsboy is surrounded by influences that are extremely bad, because of the desultory nature of his work. Commenting on certain features of street peddling, Dr. Charles P. Neill declared some years ago, "Unless the child is cast in the mold of heroic virtue the newsboy's trade is a training in either knavery or mendicancy. Nowhere else are the wits so sharpened to look for the unfair advantages, nowhere else is the unfortunate lesson so early learned that dishonesty and trickery are more profitable than honesty—and that sympathy coins more pennies than does industry."

As to the messenger service, Dr. Neill says, "The newsboy's service is demoralizing, but the messenger service is debauching." The ignorance of the general public as to the evil influences sur-

rounding the night messenger service is strikingly illustrated by what one Indiana boy told an investigator. He declared that if his father knew what he was doing a strap would be laid across his back and he would be compelled to abandon his work. But the father did not know: he thought his boy was simply delivering telegrams. Dr. Clopper rightly remarks in his excellent work, "Child Labor in City Streets," "The character of the work done by the messenger boy changes radically after nine o'clock or ten o'clock at night. At that hour most legitimate business has ceased and the evil phases of city life begin to manifest themselves. From that time until dawn the messenger's work is largely in connection with the vicious features of city life." Investigations along these lines made in New Orleans by Mr. Hine and Mr. Brown would stir our people to action if it were possible to give publicity to the naked truth in its appalling hideousness. Fortunately conditions in New Orleans have been bettered by the earnest efforts of the telegraph company. Yet the present law must be improved radically. The night messenger service ought to be closed to minors between 8 P.M. and 6 A.M., and any form of labor by minors in the segregated district should be forbidden at all times of day and night.

The public has long been indulgent toward the street-trader because it takes it for granted that the child is nobly endeavoring to support a widowed mother or a sick father and several starving little brothers and sisters. But upon investigation of the home conditions of several hundred newsboys in New York City, it was found that in most cases the parents were ***not*** dependent on the boy's earnings. The poverty plea is for the most part exaggerated. Mr. Scott Nearing says, "In many cases the boys want to go on the streets in order to have the pocket money which this life affords, and ignorant and indifferent parents make no objection, but take street life as a matter of course. Sometimes, though not nearly so often as is generally supposed, there is real need for the selling." We may say with the secretary of the New York Child Labor Committee, "Where such cities as Paris and Berlin do entirely without newsboys—corner stands taking their places—it would seem that the least that can be done in America is to adopt some adequate system of regulation. In this connection the opportunity presented in newspaper selling

to give work to the aged and handicapped,—who otherwise would have to be supported by private charity,—should not be overlooked."

So I may conclude with the hope that here, and in all the states of the Union, laws may be enacted regulating child labor not only in factories, work-shops, mines and stores, ***but also in the streets***, raising the age limit for street occupations to sixteen years, prohibiting night messenger service by minors between 8 P.M. and 6 A.M., and forbidding any gainful occupations by minors at any time in the segregated districts. A beautiful saying is attributed to one of the Greek dramatists: "The sea washes away all sins." May the ever rising tide of healthy and enlightened public opinion wash away our economic sins, but particularly our sins against the child!

To this end I ask you to waken to your responsibilities for the girls and boys of these United States. Ten years ago a band of fifty joined together to bring hope to these girls and boys. Today the band has grown from fifty to more than seven thousand. It should be ninety million. Every American citizen, every man that loves his country, everyone that has in his heart the spark of love for his fellow-beings and in his mind the light that enables him to look out and beyond the present day to future greatness, to still larger greatness and higher glory, should do everything in his power to promote the purposes, aims and ends of this Committee.

Become members. Let all those who have a hundred dollars to spare, and who with little sacrifice can part with that, do so. Become guarantors of this Committee. Let those who so easily part with twenty-five dollars for trifles, part with twenty-five dollars and become sustaining members of this truly great, vital work in our land. And you and I who are poor, let us give at least two dollars a year, and we will get all the literature they publish and we will have our minds enlightened on a subject that cannot but appeal to true men and women. Then the financial end of the Committee will be secure, and factory after factory will be recorded as free from child labor, and the nations of the earth will look to these United States and see that in good legislation against child labor as in all other things, we are away beyond them and set a standard for the world.

WHY OVERLOOK THE STREET WORKER?

EDWARD N. CLOPPER, PH.D.,
Secretary for the Northern States, National Child Labor Committee.

We have a rather inconvenient faculty of not seeing some things until we stumble over them and get a severe bump. We have been going through more than a century of child labor reform but we still ignore some phases of the problem. We began with the children in the mines and in the factories and then extended the regulation to mercantile establishments; but we have overlooked the most obvious form of child labor, the phase with which we come into daily contact, the phase which we meet with in all the streets of our cities—the newsboys, bootblacks and peddlers. That is a rather curious condition of affairs. I have been studying it for some time and it seems to me the neglect of this army of street traders here and in certain European countries is due to that old economic distinction between profits and wages. We have been concerned with protecting the helpless employee against the possible exploitation of the stronger employer. We left capital free to exercise its function without any restrictions whatever. Recently we have been prescribing certain limitations for the operation of capital, but the old idea that it should be unhampered by restrictions for the sake of the prosperity of the country still persists in our attitude toward individual enterprise and strikingly so with regard to the activities of children in street work. We always hear the little newsboy and the bootblack and the peddler referred to as merchants; they are engaged in business on their own account; they have a little capital which they invest in their stock in trade and they go out to dispose of this at a profit. And we cling to the old idea that being capitalists, even on such a small scale, they must be guaranteed the rights of capital and above all freedom of operation.

But isn't it a little bit inconsistent, isn't it even absurd for us to regulate certain forms of street activities for children and absolutely neglect other forms? In most of the good child labor

laws in this country children under fourteen years of age are prohibited from engaging in delivery, errand or messenger service. These occupations are practically street work because the workers are in the streets most of the time. They are all under the law because the children are employed. But on the other hand, we have newsboys, bootblacks and peddlers enjoying entire freedom from interference, because they are not employees but merchants; and yet they are subjected to the same influences, they suffer in the same way as children in other occupations might if they also were permitted to be employed under fourteen years of age. Isn't it absurd for us to restrict one form and leave the other unrestricted when the environment in which the children work is exactly the same? Isn't it more absurd when we consider that those children who are employed at least have the benefit of the oversight and discipline of the adults whom they serve, while the unemployed, independent merchants are under no control—they are thrown out upon the streets to do as they please, come under any influence which may be rampant there, without any thought upon the part of the community for their welfare. It seems that we have been exceedingly recreant in our attitude towards that host of young children whom we find in all of our cities.

The State of Louisiana makes absolutely no provision for their protection. There are only a very, very few commonwealths in this country that even refer to the matter. In most of those that do concern themselves with it the age limit for such work is exceedingly low, having been placed at ten or twelve years. Some states make rather ridiculous provisions for the control of this situation. Utah says that no girl under sixteen may sell papers in the street, but she may engage in the delightful, elevating, and essentially feminine occupation of blacking boots if she is only twelve years of age. What could be more absurd? It is a typical example of the neglect we have shown these children. The practice could not exist if general attention were attracted to it.

We must take up the consideration of this phase of the child labor problem. Uncle Sam has already shown us the need for action. In the government report authorized by Congress some years ago, in a volume entitled "Juvenile Employment and De-

linquency," it is shown that of all delinquent boys who have been engaged in occupations, almost one-fourth are newsboys. Now when we reflect about the great number of occupations in which children are engaged in this country, and that the juvenile court deals with children of legal working age, it becomes rather significant that one-fourth of all delinquents who have been employed in gainful occupations are newsboys. Then we find also that bootblacks and peddlers contribute a large number to our group of delinquent children. The messengers, the errand boys, the delivery boys furnish others. The United States Government was not content merely with finding out whether these delinqeunt children had been in certain occupations, but the direct connection between occupation and the offence was established and the statistics are based on that connection, showing that it was the environment, the temptations offered by those occupations, that led to the trouble. Over fifty per cent. of the delinquent children before the juvenile courts of this country studied by those government agents, were engaged in some form of street work, and that ought to be a sufficient indictment against this form of child labor to awaken us to a sense of our duty.

And as to school work, when we decline to be prejudiced by isolated instances of ability upon the part of children who are in street work, and remember the great number of children so engaged, considering the problem in its broader aspect, we find that those who are attending school and doing street work at the same time constitute quite a large percentage of the pupils who are retarded. I have made some studies myself and found that retardation among street workers in public schools is eighteen per cent. greater than among the entire school population, showing in rather a striking way that the street worker repeats grades to a greater extent than the average child. When we consider the effect of this work upon the children, the exposure, the companionship, the associations, the temptations, and the undesirable environment, we become convinced that something must be done. And I am in favor, at least for the present, of establishing the same age limit for this common form of employment as for factory work and for mercantile establishments. No child under fourteen years of age should be allowed to engage in gainful occupations upon the streets of our cities.

CUTTING CHILD LABOR OUT OF THE VICIOUS CIRCLE.

OWEN R. LOVEJOY,
General Secretary, National Child Labor Committee.

You all know how the circle goes: child labor, illiteracy, industrial inefficiency, low wages, long hours, low standards of living, bad housing, poor food, unemployment, intemperance, disease, poverty, child labor, illiteracy, industrial inefficiency, low wages,—but we are repeating. Where does it start and where does it end? It is a vicious circle indeed. If you take any American citizen at any point in this circle, it is likely to lead him to all the rest. The little child working at the manufacturer's machine is the one who becomes industrially inefficient. As an adult he works for the lowest wage. He is the first to be unemployed when business is slack and the last to be taken on when business picks up. He is the one who lives in the two-room tenement. His children, in turn, are the first to be employed because he is too poor to send them to school. They are the first to fall prey to disease because they have not fit food to eat. Living as he does, he is the first to become the victim of intemperance, because of discouragement and physical depletion. Enter the circle at any point and the victim is exposed to all the rest.

We cannot abolish poverty today; we cannot abolish intemperance today; we cannot provide all the people with decent housing conditions today; we cannot raise wages and the standard of living today. But this is my argument: child labor is the one link in this vicious circle that the American people can cut right out and thereby make the circle smaller, thereby reduce the number of contributing causes. Political economists have been teaching us for a hundred years or more that every social injustice tends to aggravate all other social injustices. I have not very much patience with the person who thinks that child labor reform will solve all evils from which society suffers. I like the people who see that all these evils are interlocking;

that one aggravates another; that a person who is interested in one of these reforms must be interested in all the rest if he wants to be a well-rounded, symmetrical thinker, and that all go together and we must move the standards up step by step.

But when we advocate moving up one step by cutting out child labor from our vicious circle, we are held up by the people who insist on a social panacea. One man says there is no way to abolish child labor except by the single tax. Another says that to do away with child labor we must establish socialism. Still another tells us that if we really want to solve the child labor problem we must do away with the saloons and establish national prohibition. Some one else comes along saying that the solution lies in the initiative and referendum. Then comes the man who believes that if the income tax were high enough child labor would cease, and on his heels comes the advocate of the commission form of government, which, he says, will solve our problem, and following him, comes the lady who assures us that woman suffrage is the solution of it all.

The National Child Labor Committee has no quarrel with any of these people. We are willing to admit, for the sake of argument, that every one of these theories is right. But if they are right what are we going to do about it? The American people will probably never get together on any one of these all-embracing, absolutely conclusive ideas. There are, then, just two things for the National Child Labor Committee to do. First, we can sit down and wait until all the people in this country agree on some one of these programs. But we are poor sitters; we have been moving around now for about ten years and we have the habit; we do not like to stop. So we have to do the other thing, which is just what we have been trying to do from the beginning.

When the National Child Labor Committee was organized ten years ago, it called into its membership people of all religious and political faiths, people from north, south, east and west, people who in all probability could never agree on any other subject under heaven, but who were willing to lay aside their differences for the little child of America. We agree "that child labor is a curse to America and we cannot afford to continue it." So there is the one course open to us if we are to cut out one

link in the chain. We must, together, blot off the pages of our national history those pictures Mr. Hine has been showing us. We must get rid of them. It is for you and me to decide whether we shall do it.

By and by, perhaps, some prominent manufacturer, possibly a cotton manufacturer, is going to come to us and say "Friends, I am with you. I am going to the legislators in my state and tell them that so long as they allow child labor to exist legally I am bound to grind children up in my mill, because I have either to do that or go out of business, for if I forbid child labor in my mill, the children and their families will all go to work in the next mill. So I have to keep on taking the blood of little children as long as the rest of them do. But I am going to ask those legislators to put a law on the statute books of my state that will compel me and all the manufacturers to abolish child labor. And if they won't do it this year I will go to them again next year and so on. In the meantime, I will give your Committee ten per cent. of the income of my factory for five years, to carry out this program all over the country. If we have not solved the problem in five years, then I will start on another five years' round." This sounds like a Utopian dream. But do you know that the first child labor law in England was passed at the instigation of two of the greatest manufacturers in the country, Sir Robert Peel and Robert Owen? Their names will go down in history as the prophets of a new and intelligent dispensation. Perhaps in this country of ours before very long some man may see this way to make his life truly famous in the light of the later day.

But until that man comes, you and I will have to keep on with the work. If he does not come and the times begin to be hard so that it is difficult for us to gather resources for our work, what are we going to do? Are we going to say to the staff of the Committee, "We like your work, but we cannot afford you any more," and stop our efforts? Or are we going to put our shoulder to the wheel and push all together? You see the point. The only way to abolish child labor in this country is for us all to agree that whatever happens we are going to do away with it and give the American child a chance to go to school, to become an efficient wage-earner, and to live the life of intelligent citizenship.

We can do it. The Committee believes that you will help. We believe that the people in all our states will help. We believe that you are going to recognize us as your servants in this matter and the representatives of the little American child, and that you are willing to help us cut this one link out of the circle, and so bring just a little nearer the solution of all these difficult problems with which we are struggling today.

THE HIGH COST OF CHILD LABOR.

LEWIS W. HINE,
Special Agent, National Child Labor Committee

For many years I have followed the procession of child workers winding through a thousand industrial communities, from the canneries of Maine to the fields of Texas. I have heard their tragic stories, watched their cramped lives and seen their fruitless struggles in the industrial game where the odds are all against them. I wish I could give you a birdseye view of my varied experiences. Perhaps if I tell you what child labor has cost a few of these children; what it costs their families; what it costs industry; what it costs society (you and me),—you will ask how, in view of the terrible cost, we can afford child labor.

The children start off with happy hearts and faces for work is fun at first. And they end—in the Human Junk Pile, before their lives are fairly well started. A lad makes a misstep, falls into a machine, loses his fingers and "ain't good for work no more." Then his family may give him an "eddication so he won't have to work," or he may simply be added to the pile of human junk. We read with perfect composure that a fifteen-year-old breaker boy was smothered to death in a Pennsylvania coal chute; we forget to count the cost to a girl of long hours of work over a machine that is always calling for more, making her "wish she could be a machine too." And what about the boy who "hain't grown none since he was six," or one whose life may be briefly summed up thus: entered industry at six years, worked for ten years, junked at sixteen years. Of course we do find children who stand the wear and tear of industry better. But, granted we have good material at the start, consider the long road ahead. What will be left of these young lives after industry has exacted its exorbitant charges?

These are a few of the physical costs. What about the mental and moral? The widely heralded welfare work of the south-

ern cotton mill too frequently turns out to be a good advertisement only. A few weeks ago I found a school run by an Alabama cotton mill, tucked away upstairs over the company's store and equipped with antediluvian furniture. Lessons begin at six in the morning, and for six hours the children are cooped up at studies that apparently have no interest for them. Why should they? The only reason for the existence of the school is the fact that the employer must comply with the state law which requires eight weeks of schooling (quality not specified). In the afternoon these children work a half day in the mill. A veritable reincarnation of Dotheboys Hall, lacking only Squeers and the treacle! And then the Squeers school was much more practical. After a boy had learned to spell "*winder*," he went out and washed the windows. The product of such schools as these is costly illiteracy, dead spirits and mechanical minds, barren of inspiration and of hope. Are they not paying some of the deficits of industry? Although we know this, we leave the vocational training of children to such men as these—men interested wholly in profits—and shut our eyes to the future.

Still higher are the moral costs of child labor. The street boy seems so well able to take care of himself that sympathy is abundant for the little newsie who seems to need our patronage, and in our superficial way we drop a nickel into his hand and hurry on, not realizing that his bundle of papers is an open sesame to all kinds of baleful influences which train him in the ways of the world. He knows saloon life, he gambles, he wastes his money, he becomes acquainted with the underworld. The messenger boy carries notes between a prostitute in jail and a man in the red light district. He knows the whole correspondence, and ere long his familiarity with vice leads to crime. Others start out in street work, serve a term in the reform school and go the usual way. In fact, the majority of boys who have come before the juvenile court have been street workers.

What are we doing when we place this industrial mortgage of premature toil on the shoulders of the little ones? How can they pay? Too often the mortgage is foreclosed and the cost falls on society. Whatever industry saves by child labor, society pays over and over. This is because child labor works in a vicious cycle. In the first place, children have an inadequate preparation

for life. This poor start and constant toil keep the worker from improving his condition. Prematurely handicapped with a family, the young parent finds that his children must aid in increasing the family budget. All along the line child labor breaks up the home. Here are tenement children whose homes have been turned into factories. They are robbed of their playtime, of their schooling, and even of their health. Industry has stooped pretty low when it draws upon the four-year-olds, when it robs the children, when it compels the sick to turn out rush jobs. Homework is bad business, bad for the child, bad for the parent, bad for industry. And not only the city tenements, but the village homes have been pressed into service for many years. Well do I remember the Dennison tags, the dainty underwear, and even the sanitary tooth brushes, bristling with the germs gathered in untidy kitchens. Nor is homework the only offender; all premature work breaks into home life. What can children know of home when they leave at six in the morning and return at six in the evening, fagged out with the day's work?

Another expense chargeable to child labor is the fact that early work cuts the wages of adults below the point of support. Many a man would have had a less tragic end if he could have had a better beginning. Moreover, a trade can be learned more quickly if the learner is not too young and if he has a basis in a proper education. It seems strange that we should ever have sanctioned the poverty exemption clause which permits children already handicapped by poverty to be still further handicapped by these industrial burdens—a commentary on our civilization. There is no question that the dependent child is below par physically and mentally. Why not give him an extra period of childhood and preparation for the responsibilities of the adult?

The procession of working children in the United States would take five years to pass a given point if the children appeared at the rate of one a minute day and night. It would represent hundreds of different industries: poling logs for a Texas sawmill; making baskets for an Indiana factory; toting dinners to fathers in the Georgia cotton mills. Now, appearances are deceitful. On the face of it, toting dinners is harmless. But it has degenerated to such an extent that some of these children carry a dozen dinners a day and earn several dollars a week. It breaks up school

linquency," it is shown that of all delinquent boys who have been engaged in occupations, almost one-fourth are newsboys. Now when we reflect about the great number of occupations in which children are engaged in this country, and that the juvenile court deals with children of legal working age, it becomes rather significant that one-fourth of all delinquents who have been employed in gainful occupations are newsboys. Then we find also that bootblacks and peddlers contribute a large number to our group of delinquent children. The messengers, the errand boys, the delivery boys furnish others. The United States Government was not content merely with finding out whether these delinqeunt children had been in certain occupations, but the direct connection between occupation and the offence was established and the statistics are based on that connection, showing that it was the environment, the temptations offered by those occupations, that led to the trouble. Over fifty per cent. of the delinquent children before the juvenile courts of this country studied by those government agents, were engaged in some form of street work, and that ought to be a sufficient indictment against this form of child labor to awaken us to a sense of our duty.

And as to school work, when we decline to be prejudiced by isolated instances of ability upon the part of children who are in street work, and remember the great number of children so engaged, considering the problem in its broader aspect, we find that those who are attending school and doing street work at the same time constitute quite a large percentage of the pupils who are retarded. I have made some studies myself and found that retardation among street workers in public schools is eighteen per cent. greater than among the entire school population, showing in rather a striking way that the street worker repeats grades to a greater extent than the average child. When we consider the effect of this work upon the children, the exposure, the companionship, the associations, the temptations, and the undesirable environment, we become convinced that something must be done. And I am in favor, at least for the present, of establishing the same age limit for this common form of employment as for factory work and for mercantile establishments. No child under fourteen years of age should be allowed to engage in gainful occupations upon the streets of our cities.

CUTTING CHILD LABOR OUT OF THE VICIOUS CIRCLE.

OWEN R. LOVEJOY,
General Secretary, National Child Labor Committee.

You all know how the circle goes: child labor, illiteracy, industrial inefficiency, low wages, long hours, low standards of living, bad housing, poor food, unemployment, intemperance, disease, poverty, child labor, illiteracy, industrial inefficiency, low wages,—but we are repeating. Where does it start and where does it end? It is a vicious circle indeed. If you take any American citizen at any point in this circle, it is likely to lead him to all the rest. The little child working at the manufacturer's machine is the one who becomes industrially inefficient. As an adult he works for the lowest wage. He is the first to be unemployed when business is slack and the last to be taken on when business picks up. He is the one who lives in the two-room tenement. His children, in turn, are the first to be employed because he is too poor to send them to school. They are the first to fall prey to disease because they have not fit food to eat. Living as he does, he is the first to become the victim of intemperance, because of discouragement and physical depletion. Enter the circle at any point and the victim is exposed to all the rest.

We cannot abolish poverty today; we cannot abolish intemperance today; we cannot provide all the people with decent housing conditions today; we cannot raise wages and the standard of living today. But this is my argument: child labor is the one link in this vicious circle that the American people can cut right out and thereby make the circle smaller, thereby reduce the number of contributing causes. Political economists have been teaching us for a hundred years or more that every social injustice tends to aggravate all other social injustices. I have not very much patience with the person who thinks that child labor reform will solve all evils from which society suffers. I like the people who see that all these evils are interlocking;

NEGLECTED CHILDHOOD AND DEFECTIVENESS.

ALEXANDER JOHNSON,
Director, Extension Department, Training School, Vineland, N. J.

When I was asked to speak at this Child Labor Conference I was a little afraid that I could not make the connection clear between child labor and my work with mental defectives. Yet there is a very real connection between mental defectiveness and anything that makes against childhood. It is only another illustration of the horrible old vicious circle. Child labor, excessive, out of place and out of time, leads to inefficiency; inefficiency leads to poverty and degradation; these lead to vice and crime. The greatest causes of defectiveness are vice and crime. Probably alcohol and syphilis are responsible for the beginning of most of these degenerative strains.

You must always remember, however, that there are many cases in which defectiveness happens without any known cause. It is often one of those "mutations" which the biologists now believe to be the cause of new varieties and new species, rather than that slow accretion of minute, favorable differences that Darwin had so much to say about. Do not think that because your friend has a feeble-minded child there is something wrong in the family history of that friend. That is not certain by any means. Yet at the same time we know that the trouble is largely hereditary.

To make the connection between defectiveness and child labor clearer, think of those dreadful days of child slavery in the cotton factories of the north of England, infinitely worse than any negro slavery I have ever read of anywhere, when they used to buy poor little miserable orphans from the poor house in the southern and central parts of England and ship them up to Lancashire in droves, scores and hundreds. The guardians of the poor—what a lovely name that is—the guardians of the poor, would make a bargain that when they sent normal children to work

in the factories, they might send a certain proportion of imbeciles along with them, who were not of any value at all. Do not such facts as those of child slavery in the cotton districts throw light on events of recent years? When the royal commission to investigate mental defectives made their report (which led to the recent legislation there) they found mental defectiveness worse in England than in this country, and worst of all in the cotton manufacturing districts. And when the Government needed a few thousand soldiers to fight a few hundred South African Boers, only ten per cent. of those who offered themselves from the cotton districts were available, because ninety per cent. were defective in height and chest measure and breadth of shoulders, although the standard had been lowered three times in forty years.

The connection is clear there. You see how inevitable it is You see how terrible is the penalty that has to be paid when we waste the most precious possession we have, our children. That penalty is the decadence of the people, the most dreadful thing you can dream of. I know of nothing that has hurt me so badly for a long time as the sights I saw when I went back across the water three or four years ago, to the old home where I was raised, the sight that you cannot avoid when you get into the slums of Manchester and Liverpool and London—the decadent people. Surely that is the most awful sight there can be.

I have had to do for many years of my life with defective children, with imbeciles and idiots, and it is positive that a great deal of defectiveness comes from the abuse of the fathers and especially of the mothers of our country. You know some of the things that come from overwork; think what overwork means for the young girl, a girl of the growing age, a girl who is just budding into womanhood, at the early adolescent period, just when the faculties are beginning to assert themselves; think of her having to stand at a machine for ten or twelve hours a day, sometimes working in the daytime one week and in the night another week, having to run all kinds of errands, and be on her feet so that she cannot rest all day. There are some valuable things in the world, but the most valuable are the mothers. When the great Napoleon was trying to reform France he said: "What France needs is mothers." And he was right: France and America and every country needs mothers. Nothing we need more here than

women who shall have a chance to be good strong healthy mothers. There is an old saying that "God could not be everywhere, so he made mothers." So beware how you overwork your future mothers. If you do not want a generation of defectives, of unemployed and unemployable people, take care that you do not overwork the children. When you talk of defectives, remember that they are, in part at least, traceable as a result of that exploitation of the undeveloped citizen; that exploitation that we are going to work as long as we can work, and talk as long as we can talk, and fight as long as we can fight, to do away with in this country of ours, so that our race shall have a new birth of freedom and the people shall not be decadent.

But there are some things in this work that we are only half beginning to do. I have an old friend who says that if it had not been forbidden, Adam and Eve would never have eaten the apple and they would never have been sent away from the garden and we should all be in Eden yet. He says when anyone tells you you must not do a thing, it makes you want to do it. In regard to child labor, I do not want so much to say, *don't do it*, I want to say, *do something else.* I would have something to bring out a child's ability and to find out what sort of ability he has. I do not mean that I would have a specialized industrial training, definite and limited from the beginning. But I believe that we ought to develop the children's ambitions and their abilities long before they are of an age to go to work. In other words we ought to reform our schools; we ought to bring up our boys and girls so that they will be thoroughly efficient citizens in all that that implies.

Let us resolve that our boys and girls shall not go to hard labor before they are fourteen or sixteen—I would like it better eighteen—but before they are fourteen or sixteen anyway, and that they shall not be exploited. But while we are getting them ready for the time they may work, we must give them a fair chance, a chance at play, a chance at knowledge of themselves, of their minds, of their bodies, a chance to move those active hands of theirs and those busy brains of theirs; we must give them something to do, something that shall prepare for life and lead into life.

If I might make the laws of the state, I would write a law

that no child institution of any kind whatever should be allowed inside the city limits. I would take them all out in the open country where I would have at least one acre for every ten children. I would give them a plastic environment, a place where children should play, not on hard asphalt or hard brick pavements, or even on gravel or cinders, but grass and trees and a plot of earth that they could work and play with. Why do we keep our neglected children in the city? We are not giving them the chance they should have. I admit that other children, the children who are not neglected, the children who have parents, have to live in the city and I am sorry for it; at least we are beginning to provide play grounds for them. But when we take hold of the neglected and dependent children and become responsible for them; when we, as a great body politic, the great Brotherhood of Mankind, take the children into our arms, the protecting arms of the Good Mother State, it is evidently our duty to do better for them than was done before—not worse—to give them every possible chance while we are doing it, for when we are doing it for them we are doing it for ourselves. If we disregard the misery which comes from the folly of war, we may say that nearly all the misery in the world and nearly all the crime in the world, is due to neglected childhood. We have got to begin with the children and give everyone of them a chance to grow up to be a good, efficient, intelligent and religious American citizen.

WHY IT IS HARD TO GET GOOD CHILD LABOR LAWS IN THE SOUTH.

W. H. SWIFT,
Field Secretary, North Carolina and South Carolina Child Labor Committees.

Perhaps I had better say that I am going to make an attempt to explain why it is difficult to get good child labor laws in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi. These are the states which are noticeably below the standard in the United States. There is an accumulation of reasons for this fact. I am setting them out because I am unwilling for it to be thought that our people generally are not interested in childhood. We are not indifferent to the rights of a child, but we are held back by a collection of facts and circumstances, over which we have not had control, and from the force of which we have not thus far been able to escape.

These four or five states have very recently gone into the development of that industry which has always used a large number of children. Textile workers as a rule stand side by side with small boys and girls. The manufacturer of cotton has long been in the habit of bringing to its aid an enormous number of child workers. When we began to build up this business we followed the same old easy road. Looking at it from a distance it seems as if we might have learned from the experience of other countries and other sections, but men do not learn much except by their own experience. The business was growing, millions were being made. We have not even yet had time for counting up the full cost. Not yet do we know the price which we are daily paying for our success in the manufacture of cotton. We have simply failed to see the facts in the case.

We have thus failed to see because of another fact which has played and is now playing a very great part in the development of our social and economic life. We are only a little more

than fifty years from another civilization, and we are direct successors to that civilization. The fact of slavery in these states made a large class of poor white people. There was a very general feeling that the child of the poorer farmer and wage-earner was never meant to have the advantages which the children of the leading families had. Before the war, as now, our people were kind and charitable to a fault, but they were not *just*. It was never thought but that the poorer man and his children were of a different class. They were not to expect much except meat and bread and such good things as the richer folk gave to them. Mighty little was known or even thought of absolute human rights. At that time no great harm was suffered, because of the fact that most of our people were agricultural.

The old civilization was shattered, but the thoughts and feelings of that time remain. We have fallen heir to these. Some of the old families survive. Many men from the poorer white class have pushed themselves up through the shattered shell of the old civilization. They have been successful. They have made money. They began to establish business. Mills were built and the doors were thrown open for help. It was only the poor who came to work in these mills. They brought their children with them. The manufacturers said: "They are children of poor ignorant people. They can never amount to much at best. It will be a piece of good luck for them to find an opportunity for their children to earn money." So the working of young children became a custom.

When this employment of children began, general public education was not yet widespread as it is today. Even now there are numbers of men who believe that the child of the poor man ought to get to work early and stick to it late. Of course, none of our people think this of all children. If we did there would be no high schools and no colleges. But we have thought it about some, and we have been perfectly willing for them to lose their chance in life and for them to be premature wage-earners.

In taking this view I do not believe that our mill-men have been any exception. Public education has yet battles to fight. The mill-man simply put into practice what a large number of men thought. He puts it into practice now. The doctrine that

social justice and human rights rise above parental and property rights does not yet determine either the law or custom of these states.

Not yet do we understand the laws of community progress. Of all people in America we have probably been the most wasteful. We have untied the sack and poured out our resources. Human lives together with human prospects were our cheapest commodities. We have been most reckless in our waste of these. In fact, human rights always halt behind property rights and separate single prosperity always comes before community investigation looking to community development. Human energy, human possibilities, human potentialities, and human life have been poured out and we did not even see the stream. It has seemed right and no crime to place children at an early age in our mills. They were the ignorant children of ignorant parents and would, in the opinion of many, never amount to much. The child that was employed in the mill belonged to a type that frequently depend upon charity. Thinking perhaps, that we were doing good we suffered the child of the poor to be hired. Money was made from his labor through long hours, and that money was used to dress and to educate the other man's child. The best explanation that we can give of this attitude is that it is the fruit of thought developed in our earlier civilization, for this code of morals could hardly be built up now. Without being conscious of it we have lived not only in neglect but in the exploitation of a large number of our children.

This neglect and exploitation has continued up to this good hour because of the fact that we have had and now have no information about these matters. Somehow we have lived under the idea that God fixes a man's lot and that things were about right anyhow. Even today in our wonderful era of educational progress we have no reliable state data upon this and kindred matters. There have been no surveys and no investigations. Our teachers of sociology and political economy in our colleges have not even touched these questions. The result is that if one should go and see and if he should then speak most truthfully of what he has seen, he would find it hard to make the people believe. Not much progress can be made until we get fuller information.

In North Carolina I know that there is no source within the state to which we can go for this information. It will, therefore, take a long time before a few men can make a whole state see conditions as they are.

Then, too, we must remember that in the South we have been somewhat averse to making inquiry into the study of life in any state or community. We have generally resented any suggestion that conditions could be improved. We have been peculiarly jealous of our reputation and in many instances have deliberately hid our eyes lest we see things that were not good. Mr. Walter Page's speech on the Forgotten Man was bold. When Dr. Stiles said we had hookworm the lie was all but passed. But the signs are hopeful. Our educational forces are now hunting for the forgotten man and his child, and as a result of the investigation carried on through the Rockefeller Institute, hookworm is almost as fashionable as appendicitis. In certain quarters, especially in mill villages, the treatment for hookworm is supposed to be a cure for all social ills.

Up to this time we have allowed ourselves to be deluded. Children of tender years have been working regularly for long hours. We saw a little of it, but no one focussed our attention upon it; we have never had our attention fixed directly upon our social conditions. We saw it, but the manufacturer said it was all right, and the manufacturer was one of the leading men of the state and of the community; he was a man of wealth.

Taking into consideration the fact that all these working children have come from poor families we have not felt the need of making inquiry. We preferred to accept the statement of the cotton manufacturers, that the cotton mill was a sort of an orphanage as well as a business institution. There was the mill. Here was the child. The parent wanted to work that child. Then why not? Every day took care of itself. There has been a failure to think ahead. This would be criminal if it did not come from ignorance for which the parents are not to blame.

Then, too, there has been very little thought upon even the most elementary laws of labor. The problems of life were hard. It was easy to slip the load off upon the shoulders of the child. Most of our people could, if they would, live without depending upon the labors of their children, but as a class

these parents who put their children out to work lack the ability to buck-up. They have never been organized, and they are not generally fighters for their own rights. Of course, child competition is unfair, but little thought has been given to it. Robbed of social justice they sat in easy stupor doped in some cases by regular or intermittent charity. Child labor has furnished an easy road for slipping out of one's duty, and such slipping has been encouraged. A large number of widows with children have gone to the mills. The mills need not have opened their doors to them, but in many cases they sent agents for them. I do not think that the mills are altogether to blame. Many a community has sent its unfortunate families off to the mill rather than provide for them at home. Brothers have loaded the widow and children of a dead brother into a wagon and have hauled them to the cotton mill instead of aiding them at home as they should have done.

This perhaps has come from the fact that we have been told over and over again that the life at the mill village, even for the child worker, was good. As I have said, we did not choose to investigate this statement, because we felt that an investigation would be some reflection upon the gentlemen who made the statement. They respect the man who has money and lives in a good house. I do not think that anywhere in the South will you find any general tendency to dispute the statement of the wealthy man of the community. We take it at its full value. I know that at times we do show a disposition to cry out against the bad rich, but I call to your attention the fact that in our opinion most of the bad rich live next to Wall Street, and certainly north of the Mason and Dixon line. We believe in investigating the New York insurance companies and even the railroads, but to appoint an inspector to look into conditions in our mill villages is thought to be a reflection upon the word and character of good men.

The fact is that our people hold themselves up to a sort of a contract not to investigate and not to find out just how things are going. Twenty-five years ago we were exceedingly anxious for manufacturing industries. I now recall advertisements in which the leading features were cheap labor and no restrictive laws. Men, some from the outside and some of our own, built

our mills for us with the understanding that labor was cheap and that laws did not restrict them. In our anxiety to have these mills built we failed to figure out just how much of life and of future prosperity it was going to cost us, and now that this question is up, probably a large number of our people believe that we should live up to our contract, that we should try to keep cheap labor for our own manufacturers and that we should impose no restrictive laws. Sometimes it seems as if for business success and for the pleasure of reporting so many millions earned we are willing to sacrifice thousands of our children to the cruel demands of business. The force of this implied contract will perhaps continue until our people have been taught to see just what our business success has cost us. A sentimental appeal for the rights of the child will not be sufficient to break this contract. It will only be broken when all of our people understand the price of human life and the appalling waste and loss which comes to the state, when by early labor a child is rendered inefficient for life's work. In my opinion it will take some years to impress this lesson properly.

But more than all these, the reason for the continuation of child labor in the South and the reason why when we attempt to enact restrictive laws we always find opposition from the same class, is that our cotton manufacturer thinks that he needs and certainly wants the child. I know this is denied in many cases, but when we go to mill after mill and find practically the same children in every mill I am thoroughly convinced that the child is there because the owner of the mill wants him there. They do not want negroes and we do not find negroes. Wanting this child, the cotton manufacturer has been able to keep him.

I doubt whether many of our people thoroughly appreciate the tremendous influence which the cotton manufacturer is able to exert in the state legislature. A man who runs a cotton mill has direct control over a large number of votes. Under ordinary circumstances he can turn a great many of these votes just as he will. Recognizing this fact public officials and political parties make terms with him and, as perhaps he later contends, place themselves under obligations to these cotton manufacturers. I recall now that a certain member of the legislature in North Carolina told me that a certain other member was with us but said he, "You

know how these mill men stood with him; they are now hot after him." My experience is that the cotton manufacturer does not hesitate to make the fullest use of his political power. My further experience is that even in a matter relating to the employment of children he is given very high consideration. These questions are usually referred to a committee, of which manufacturers make up a large number.

Since the manufacturer does have this tremendous political influence and since he has the power to influence his workers just about as he pleases, and since he considers it of such vital importance that he is willing to go to the legislature in order to fight for the right to work a child, and since he has been so active in political life that his cooperation is eagerly sought, you need not be surprised that in this good land of ours he has been able to hold us down to a point where we still permit a large percentage of our children to be taken from the school and from the fields and be placed at work. You need express no surprise that on any workday in these cotton mill villages you will find scores and scores and hundreds of girls in short dresses standing for eleven hours week in and week out.

A REPORT FROM SOUTH CAROLINA.

JUDGE JOSEPH A. MCCULLOUGH,
Greenville, S. C.

I was asked to tell you something about the situation in South Carolina. I want to say in the first place that South Carolina has more spindles and looms than any other state in the Union with the exception, perhaps, of Massachusetts. Therefore child labor with us is an acute problem. It is not a theory, it is a condition that confronts us. And this congested condition of our mill vicinities gives rise, not only to this problem, but to other problems which I might discuss—political problems, social problems and religious problems. I want to tell you, however, that in spite of all these problems we are not as bad as some of the states. We are not as bad as North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, and we rank forty-seventh in the scale of illiteracy while Louisiana ranks forty-eighth.

And in South Carolina we believe play is better for children than ten hours close confinement. We have produced Joe Jackson, the ball-player who made us famous. He did not believe in child labor, so I am informed, and he would not labor. Of course he had to find an outlet for his physical energy, and he found it in playing baseball. It did not turn out in the case of Joe Jackson, and I do not believe it turns out in the majority of cases, that if you turn children out of the mill they will lead lives of vice and crime. I do not agree with the theory that if you cannot turn the child into the school you had better keep him in the mill. I believe it is better for the child to play; I believe it is better for the child to indulge in those pursuits that children necessarily will indulge in, than to force him into the cotton mill ten hours a day. I believe that breathing the pure air that comes down in waves from the Blue Ridge Mountains, hard by the town where I live, is much better than breathing the dust and the lint of the cotton mill; and I believe it is more wholesome for the child

when he turns his face upward to behold the blue canopy of the skies than it is to see the metal roof of a manufacturing establishment.

But what have we actually accomplished in South Carolina? It is true that we have not raised the age limit to the point we would desire, but we have gradually raised it from zero to twelve years—to fourteen years for messenger boys and delivery boys. We have only about five thousand children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen in our cotton mills and about three thousand five hundred between the ages of twelve and fourteen. We have fewer children between the ages of twelve and fourteen employed in our mills today than ever before in the history of our state. And we have limited the hours of work to ten a day or sixty a week. We have also a factory inspector who is competent and efficient, and at the session of our last legislature there was passed a vital statistics bill which is very necessary to the proper enforcement of the child labor law. So we have made some progress. At least we are not exactly like the hardshell Baptist congregation that was progressing backwards.

And what are we trying to accomplish? We are trying to raise the age limit to fourteen years. At the last session of our legislature a bill was introduced to that effect. It went before the Senate Committee and representatives of the Child Labor Committee went before the Senate Committee and obtained a favorable report on the bill. But it was soon noised abroad in South Carolina and the representatives of the textile industries at once flocked to Columbia, and they succeeded in having an unfavorable report on that bill, and it died, as might be expected, with very little consideration. The Senate Committee reversed its decision, I think, particularly because of the fact that the mill operatives had a mass meeting and denounced this piece of vicious legislation—that was the term—aimed at the mill villages, and the mill people came down to Columbia and talked about the indigent widow. You know whenever you talk about the indigent widow it is like flagging an express train—you are going to reverse your engine and put the brakes on. I felt that way about it myself. I was not prepared to contradict them. I have always had a very great sympathy for widows, and that sympathy is intensified for indigent widows. So we did not know exactly

how to meet that argument. But since that time an investigation has been made and I want to call your attention to some of our figures, and they are reliable too. In a comparative examination of sixteen cotton mills in my state with about five thousand operatives of mill villages, a population of about fifteen thousand people, it was ascertained that there were two hundred and thirty-three children between the ages of twelve and fourteen who worked. Fifty-two of these were children of widows; only fifty-two out of a population of five thousand were children of widows! Seventeen were children of totally disabled parents, seven orphans. There were seventy-seven families where they were more or less dependent upon the assistance of children between twelve and fourteen years of age. Now this is not a bugaboo after all. And I think when these figures are brought to the attention of our legislature the argument of the indigent widow will disappear from the case and we will get what we want and what we expect at the hands of the next legislature.

But we also thought to have passed a compulsory education bill and a local one was passed. It passed both houses of the General Assembly. It came to Governor Blease and he promptly vetoed it. I want to quote briefly from the message which he sent to the General Assembly vetoing the compulsory education act for Richland County. "This act requiring compulsory education is supposed to be and no doubt will be termed local, but in my opinion it is but another form of republicanism breaking into our state legislature. I told you in my general message that I would veto any such act, and it is with great pleasure that I refuse to sign this one and return it to you. It is called local but it is only an opening wedge to the general law along this line, and the best people of South Carolina are opposed to it." I deny that allegation because I am one of those people myself! But the legislature of South Carolina sustained the veto of the governor.

We are making progress, however, slow and gradual but sure. There are a handful ready to stand at the gates and beat down the invading hordes of ignorance as they did in the days of old. It may involve personal antagonisms; some of their dearest friends personally may be those who are vitally interested on the other side; but they do not mind. And you mark this prediction: there are better times ahead for old South Carolina.

CHILD LABOR REFORM IN ALABAMA.

MRS. W. L. MURDOCH,
Chairman, Alabama Child Labor Committee.

In a part of the country whose keynote is conservatism, reforms come slowly. Therefore to those of us who are new to the work in Alabama there seems to be but little child labor reform in that state. Yet if we look back to the time, ten years ago, when our beloved Edgar Gardner Murphy heard the cry of Alabama's children and left his small home town and went to New York to plead that the campaign against the exploitation of childhood be made not sectional, but nation wide—if we look back to that time, we see that great reform has been accomplished in conservative old Alabama.

The changing attitude of the whole public is in itself a substantial reform, as public opinion can control any situation. The feeling that child labor really is an evil and that it is largely responsible for Alabama's stand in the scale of illiteracy, has grown apace this last year. The public mind today is vastly different from the one with which Mr. Murphy had to deal. And when we look back and see that in his day there was no age limit for employment, no protection of machinery and no requirement in regard to sanitary conditions, we realize that a marked advance is indicated by our present twelve-year age limit and our factory inspector, second to none in the country, who insists on sanitary conditions, protected machinery, some schooling and some proof of age.

A very satisfactory piece of work, too, has been done for the newsboys in Birmingham, the largest city in the state. There the Boys' Club and the Juvenile Court have worked out a newsboys' republic which is not unlike a child labor law. No newsboy can get a badge who is not in school, and this is very different from past conditions—even from last year—when almost none of the boys were in school. They have their own court with regular

officials, their social meetings, and organized play, all under regulation. All this is fast changing the standards of these boys.

Yet, perhaps nothing is more indicative of reformation than the changing attitude of the cotton mill men themselves. They almost all agree that a fourteen-year age limit is reasonable; they are trying to see that age records are correct, and that the children get the required schooling, and they are beginning to feel that very young children are not profitable, that it is not good business to employ them. Conditions in mill towns are wonderfully improved, although we must acknowledge that there is room for improvement yet and there are some towns we should dislike to have you visit after hearing us make that statement in regard to improvement.

The establishment of a bureau of vital statistics by our State Board of Health is also a substantial gain for it will make it possible in the future to prove the age of working children. At present there is no proof other than the word of the parent or guardian. Then the mines of the state, which form a large part of its wealth, have fixed for themselves the age limit of sixteen. While this was not done primarily for the benefit of the children, the effect is the same, and we find practically no children in the mines.

Most of all we find a change in that attitude of mind which calmly said after the passage of our child labor law in 1907. "Well, now we have a good child labor law and a fine factory inspector, so we are free from child labor. We are sorry for those benighted states which continue to employ children in their factories." Now we find people realizing that while we have been busy legislating against our cotton mills, all other forms of industry where children can be used have been employing them absolutely without regulation as to age, schooling, hours of work or sanitary conditions, and that we can ill afford to throw stones at any other state while we ourselves live in so brittle a glass house.

What Alabama needs is to pause in her advertising of her industrial greatness and consider what she is doing to conserve her human resources. When she realizes her true condition, as she is just beginning to do, and sees that she can never be a truly great state until she ceases to waste the citizens of the future,

then, and not till then, will the whole people attack the child labor problem. We need first a compulsory education law well enforced. Then we need the uniform child labor law in all the southern states so that child employers cannot evade the law by simply moving across the line into the next state. And as laws do not enforce themselves, we need an adequate force of inspectors with a severe penalty attached to all violations so that the inspectors can really do something. Furthermore we need to recognize, as a state, the principle that no child under fourteen is to be reckoned as an economic asset, and that it is the community's burden to provide for the widow with children of tender years until those children have become old enough and well enough educated to become wage-earners intelligently.

The compulsory education law will be brought before the next session of the legislature, and the Child Labor Committee proposes to present a bill with a fourteen-year age limit for all occupations, a sixteen-year age limit for dangerous occupations and a twenty-one year age limit for night messengers, besides a provision for twelve weeks compulsory schooling.

Every reform, especially one concerning women and children, has had to fight its way. Always there have been a few who have caught the vision, but rarely have they lived to see it become reality. In Alabama, Edgar Gardner Murphy caught the vision and started the fight. He has gone on and left to us the task of making his vision of a protected childhood a reality in this state. We hope to see all Alabama catch this vision next year, and we hope to be able to say of our state that not simply child labor reform, but the absolute abolition of child labor has been accomplished.

THE LAST STAND OF THE ONE BUSINESS WHICH OPPOSES CHILD LABOR LEGISLATION IN THE SOUTH.

W. H. SWIFT,
Field Secretary, North and South Carolina Child Labor Committees.

What I have to say now grows out of my actual observation and experience in the good state of South Carolina, where we have been trying to secure additional legislation restricting the employment of children. So far as I am concerned, it is the last report from the enemy.

There have been a number of reasons and excuses offered for both the fact, and the right to perpetuate the fact, of child labor in the South, especially in the states of North Carolina and South Carolina (for it is only in these two states that I have had any actual experience). Most of these reasons, however, I should in fairness say, have been mere explanations and excuses, for you may go over the two states of North Carolina and South Carolina and you will not find one man, and certainly not one woman, who believes in child labor *per se*. I mean by this that our people do not think it the duty of a child to work regularly for himself or for wages as we think it the duty of a strong man to work. In two years, talking to all classes of people, I have never once heard it contended that children ought to work just as grown-up people work. We recognize that the child must have an opportunity to grow and to play. We believe in work for the child only in so far as the child is trained by it, as a colt is trained by light work; so far and no more.

There have, however, been a number of excuses offered by the cotton manufacturers for the continuation of child labor. I say offered by the cotton manufacturers, because so far as I have known they are the only ones who, as a class, make or have made any active opposition to the enactment of laws restricting the employment of children. Reason and observation have taught me that these cotton manufacturers have been thus active

because they want to continue to employ children, and they have offered these excuses because they desire to make a fair showing to the public.

They know that the custom stands now and has stood for some years in danger of falling under serious general condemnation. They have been turning and turning again to find some excuse with which to bolster up their position. The change in public thought is driving them from one ground to another, and some of their excuses have been well-nigh abandoned.

They no longer say that the mills need children. In fact many say that they do not want children. My observation is, however, that they still take them by the hundreds. My own belief, after going carefully over the field, is that they do want children, and that they say they do not want them because they desire to make a show of responding to public feeling; for public feeling does not look with much favor upon a business which openly seeks a large number of child workers. Mill men recognize this. They are wise in their generation. They, therefore, declare that they do not want the child. It is my belief that they would come nearer to the truth, if they would say that they would be glad to exchange every child for an adult worker, *provided*, they could employ adults at the same wages which they now pay to children. As a mill is now run they believe that they need a certain number of child workers, and needing them, they want them; but they rarely ever say anything of the need and they deny the want.

They do not now say that if we take the child out of the mill a growing industry will be crippled. Ten years ago this argument was frequently, and I am ashamed to say, effectively used; but there has been a great deal of general progress in ten years. Education has been getting in her good work. We are not now proud of any business that would be seriously crippled by the taking away of the right to work little boys and girls regularly for long hours. We have learned to set a value infinitely higher than money upon life, and especially upon child life. The very fact that we have built many schools and have employed many teachers has led our people to think that a school is the right of every child. We have taken pencil in hand, and are now figuring on these matters, and over against the profits in a mill built, fortunes made, and a few excellent homes established, we are

setting an appalling loss of future efficiency, of limb and health and of all the other thousand things which make life good and for which the working child can not even hope. Mill men are wise, and they have dropped this plea.

Nor do we hear very much now about educating the ignorant mountaineer. Time was, and that was only yesterday, when it was seriously contended and actually believed that a cotton mill was a great educational institution as well as a sort of charitable home for the unfortunate, especially a resort for widows and orphans. A few months' study of state school reports and of individual districts has exploded this notion. By investigation we have found a low school enrollment and low daily attendance in mill villages. Even if all the young children should go to school, education could not amount to very much where it is the habit to cut the whole school population square off at twelve. There are very few, practically no, high school pupils from the mill villages. (I mean, of course, children of mill operatives.) We are very certain now that cotton mill villages are not educational and cultural centers.

The facts are too plain to be denied. We have, therefore, reached the point where nothing is said of the great educational advantages to be found in the mill villages. Our people can think for themselves. They are asking what good the school is for a child working eleven hours a day. Manufacturers have been forced to meet that question, and they have turned the subject of conversation.

Nor do we now hear it contended that this matter should be left to the parents. I believe one preacher has said it might be left to sensible Christian parents and mill managers, but all of us know that many parents are neither sensible nor Christian. We do not, therefore, give any attention to this preacher. We are now in a time when it is recognized that the State has a much wider function than we formerly believed. There are so many illustrations of this, and examples of the actual control of the State in private affairs are so numerous that it needs no discussion.

The State has a distinct duty when it comes to the protecting of her children. The child is the ward of the State and the State must protect this ward in its human as well as in its property rights. When we leave this matter to parents and to mill man-

agers in the south, six and eight-year-old children work twelve and thirteen hours a day. No manufacturer who understands the drift of modern thought raises this point now. The argument has gone to the junk heap of useless discards, for no argument will stand long when practically all the people know that it is untrue. In this respect, experience certainly has taught us its lesson. This contention will not be heard again.

All the political as well as social thought of our time runs in the direction of state guardianship. There is no political party that does not recognize the fact that the State must have its word when it comes to the point of making regular wage-earners of children. The rights of the community and of the State, and the rights of the child which the State must at all times guarantee from the simple fact that they are the rights of the child, rise paramount to any right which any parent may claim to have.

Nor do the manufacturers now say that they have been shown up in an untruthful and bad light. They cannot say this because of the fact that having been driven from all other contentions they base their opposition to laws restricting the employment of children now upon the sole ground that a large number of their people, workers in their mills or else families connected with workers in their mills, are so poor that they could not possibly stand any further restriction of the right to hire out their children. At the South Carolina hearing before the senate committee this and this alone was the argument with which they won their point. To that hearing they brought mill owners, mill superintendents and operatives. All of them solemnly declared that if the age limit for the employment of children should be raised from twelve to fourteen the people would suffer. They made the illogical contention that they favored compulsory education. Of course, no one could harmonize these two.

As I sat there and heard these men tell their sad tales, more cruelly sad than any report which I have ever read, and reflecting upon the whole business far more than any pictures which have ever been published, there seemed to pass across that senate chamber scores of gaunt, ragged widows, followed by hundreds of pale, hungry, fatherless, children with bony forefingers pointed in reproach.

It is my opinion that they tremendously exaggerated the poverty of their own people, but I was not in position to deny their words about their own life. Whether it be true or not, I think it certain that our people will not for many years allow a state of poverty, in no wise produced by these children, to be used as an excuse for throwing the brunt of the support of a large part of the mill population upon the shoulders of the boys and girls who should be at play and not at work. But until the real meaning of the position last taken by the manufacturers is understood, and until our people learn a little of the elementary laws of labor and of labor competition, this last contention of that body of men who employ children and who seek to continue to employ them will not be exploded. It counts powerfully with state legislatures.

So we now have cotton manufacturers saying that their people are so poor that they must hire out their little boys and girls just to live. They cannot now contend that the whole life is good. They have declared that it is bad.

THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY FOR CHILDREN IN MASSACHUSETTS FACTORIES.

RICHARD K. CONANT,
Secretary, Massachusetts Child Labor Committee.

During the two years' campaign in Massachusetts for the Uniform Child Labor Law, the real objection was always against the eight-hour day for children under sixteen. If that provision had been omitted, the law could have been secured much earlier. But there were thirty thousand children between fourteen and sixteen at work in Massachusetts, and to reduce the hours of a large proportion of them, possibly twenty thousand, from ten hours a day to eight hours a day met with considerable opposition.

The opposition did not contend that ten hours of factory work was as good for the health of the child as eight hours. On that point people generally agreed that if eight hours is enough for the adult in skilled unionized trades or for the adult on public works, it is enough for the factory child. Nor did the opposition contend that the cost to the manufacturer would be seriously increased. The manufacturers who appeared before the legislative committee in 1912 admitted that they paid for the amount of work done or by the hour, and that even if the work required more children or slightly older children, little more would be paid for doing the work. The opposition based its argument upon a single strong contention, that in factories where the adults work ten hours it is not practical to employ the children on eight-hour shifts.

Because children could not be employed eight hours while the adults worked ten hours and the machinery ran ten hours, one of two things, the opposition said, must inevitably happen: "Either the machinery and the adults must stop at the end of eight hours or we must discharge the children. We cannot afford to stop the machinery at the end of eight hours, therefore

we shall discharge the children. That will cause untold suffering among the poor families dependent upon the wages of these children."

And now that the law has been in effect over seven months, since September 1, 1913, that argument is answered. The manufacturers did discharge some children, but they reemployed them. On December 24, 1913, four months after the law went into operation, 28,011 different children between fourteen and sixteen had obtained employment certificates and were at work. This is fully nine-tenths as many children as were employed the previous December.

Our investigations show that the children are for the most part still at work in the same occupations in which they previously worked but they are at work eight hours a day instead of ten hours a day. A questionnaire which was sent to the superintendents of schools shows the situation in November, 1913. 234 cities and towns where there were industries which employed children fourteen to sixteen years old replied to the questionnaire. 211 of the 234, nine-tenths, reported that the industries had adjusted themselves to the law and that the children were not thrown out of employment. In the other cities about 3,000 children were reported discharged, but many of these were later reemployed.

The period required for readjustment to the law was of short duration. It has been contended that the law should have been delayed a year in its operation or that children already at work should have been exempted from the reduction of hours. A year's postponement would probably have resulted in no more attempt at preparation than was made in the two months which the legislature allowed between the enactment of the law and the time of its taking effect. If an exemption could have been devised against the children already at work, the factory inspectors would have had great practical difficulty in enforcing the law. Under such an exemption, the children who have to work in the mills for the next two years would not have received the benefits of the law.

The figures given above seem to show that in December about two or three thousand fewer children were employed as a result of the law. If this difference still exists between the num-

ber of children at work this year and the number at work last year, it is worth while to inquire what these children are doing and whether any hardship has resulted from the loss of their wages.

Attendance officers report that they do not find that the children are idle on the streets. The law requires children under sixteen to be either at work or at school. This law is being well enforced, and, as nearly as can be judged, the children not employed are in school.

From Lawrence, where a larger proportion of children were discharged than in any other city or town, the attendance officer reports: "Practically all of the 600 children dismissed from the local mills in August or September have been accounted for. Over 160 of the children who were discharged were hired while they were still under sixteen. Over 200 more returned to school for some period and 125 of these are still in school. About 90 have special permits from the superintendent of schools to engage in profitable employment at home. These were issued only after a complete and systematic investigation of each case. Those who are 'employed at home' are actually employed at home and have no time to run the streets."

Fall River reports: "We have six attendance officers at work in the city. It is their testimony that the law has produced practically no increase in idleness. Some mills, it is true, discharged children under sixteen years of age, but only a small percentage of those discharged failed to find work in other mills which adjusted their hours of labor to the conditions demanded by the new law. Those who have not found work are now in the schools, with, perhaps, a few exceptions."

New Bedford, Lowell, Worcester, Springfield and the other cities and towns nearly unanimously report the same readjustment. Boston finds 887 fewer children at work and 801 more children than normal in school between fourteen and sixteen. Several reports state that the new law, by requiring children to be at school or at work, has diminished rather than increased idleness.

"Hardship upon the families" was a favorite newspaper phrase in September and October, 1913. An examination of the newspaper clippings reveals no cases of hardship there cited which had actually happened as a result of the eight-hour law.

In several cases hardship was threatening to happen. In a few weeks such statements disappeared from the newspapers. A blank was sent by the Board of Labor and Industries on February 27, 1914, to all known relief agencies both public and private asking for a report of all cases where a relief was given on account of the child labor law. On March 20th fifty-two agencies had reported. In sixteen cases relief had been granted on account of the eight-hour law. In eleven of these cases the relief had been only temporary. These returns, from overseers of the poor, associated charities and other agencies dispensing relief may fairly be supposed to represent the extent to which the law caused hardship in the state. Surely this small amount of hardship cannot weigh against the benefits to 20,000 children. The Secretary of the Associated Charities of Boston says: "The seventeen District Secretaries were consulted. From September 1, 1913, to March 1, 1914, 1,397 new families, 1,364 old cases, a total of 2,761 were dealt with. It seems a rather significant fact that to only one family was it necessary to grant relief because of the new child labor law."

The mothers' aid statute, which went into effect simultaneously with the child labor law, ought to have revealed in its operation some of the hardship if any existed. During the campaign for the law, it was argued to be an expensive process for the state to abolish child labor and pay the wages to the mothers. Out of 1182 mothers who have applied for aid, 35 have given the child labor law as a reason. In 27 of these cases the children affected have now been reemployed.

The eight-hour law for children in Massachusetts has so far had these results: the children are employed in about as large numbers as before; those not employed are at school; idleness on the streets has not increased; the hardship from loss of earnings has been very slight. The children are enjoying their eight hours and they are the ones for whose benefit the law was enacted. Their greatest gain, in health and intelligence, cannot be realized until a few years have passed. Something of the real benefit of the law can be learned by listening to the evidence given before the legislative committee by a textile worker, Miss Rose Brennan. Speaking against the repeal of the law she said, "Eight hours a day is certainly enough for a child. I have worked

in mills for twenty years and I know what I am talking about. With a temperature of 80 to 86 degrees they can't grow. I began at thirteen years of age and all I get now is nine dollars a week. I wanted an education. I went to night schools just as long as I possibly could. The work I did all day robbed me of my strength of mind and body and I fell asleep at my desk many a night in night school, and I think eight hours a day is enough for the children. I myself had rather work another hour longer and give the children a chance. They are never going to be good citizens and they are never going to get an education in a cotton mill."

Like the other states which have tried the law, Massachusetts is now finding that the result is not to disorganize industry. The law is in practical operation, children are employed in nearly every process in which they were employed before and they are employed eight hours a day where the adults work ten hours. It is possible, even in a textile state.

The new law has given to thousands of children two hours less of monotony, two hours less of close, noisy, machine work, and two hours less of dreary, uninstructive drudgery. There is a chance now to give them more intelligent recreation, more part-time schooling, and some little knowledge about the world outside the mill.

TASKS IN THE TENEMENTS.

LEWIS W. HINE,
Special Agent, National Child Labor Committee.

The task of treating the Tasks in the Tenements is one that is truly Herculean. The subject always makes me see red—not merely because it raises memories of twenty-four hour shifts tripping up and down the tenement stairs, six or seven flights of them (for the good things are always at the top), loaded down with several tons of camera equipment; neither is it because in these same tenements I have a number of times been very near getting what has been long coming to me from those who do not agree with me on child labor matters—those are only trifles. It is because when I stop to consider it in all of its damnable ramifications, tenement home work seems to me one of the most iniquitous phases of child-slavery that we have. It is then that I come nearest to hysterics, and so, if I seem to be smiling over the subject at any time this morning, you may rest assured I would rather weep.

"Be it ever so humble, there's no place like home"—for what?

It is the best place for the family—therefore there is no better place for industry.—Q. E. D.

Then, why be selfish and try to reserve the home for the family? It has other, broader uses.

Industry, with its usual unselfish, altruistic spirit, has been demonstrating for years how we may utilize waste, and everyone knows how all the industrial by-products are turned to account. We are just beginning to realize that some of the master minds of industry have been greatly disturbed over the forces and activities in the home that, like the mighty Niagara, are sweeping onward and accomplishing nothing. They see mothers spending whole days at housework, children at play, neighbors visiting with each other. But what does it all amount to? If these golden moments could be harnessed to the wheels of In-

dustry,—Ah, what a millenium! If each of our 25,000,000 children, for example, could knit for three hours a day (before and after school, of course) we could keep the world in socks. Doubling the work time to six hours, they could make our nation's shirts. Mayhap, they could, in time, be trained to utilize ten hours of their spare time each day and roll out our cigarettes—and there would still be left a few things, like boilers and cannon, that could not conveniently be made at home. You see, it's all as simple as putting pen to paper—and what a God-send! It would surely increase the family income to such an extent that they might have a fighting chance to make a starvation wage if every member of the family worked all the time. Moreover, it would keep Johnnie and Jennie fully occupied when they might otherwise be wasting their time in fruitless play. If the little hands are always busy how can Satan find mischief for them to do?

Then, too, it is perfectly obvious that our children must be reared in an atmosphere of work if they are to become Captains of Industry, and so we outdo the Montessori System itself, finding tasks for the tiny tots to try. Did I say tasks? Not so—they are "opportunities" for the child and the family to enlist in the service of industry and humanity. In unselfish devotion to their home work vocation, they relieve the overburdened manufacturer, help him pay his rent, supply his equipment, take care of his rush and slack seasons, and help him to keep down his wage-scale. Of course they must accept with cheery optimism the steady decline in wages that inevitably follows in the wake of home work. Isn't it better anyway for everyone to be working instead of expecting father to do it all?

And then, they are not a bit niggardly about their diseases. These they enclose, gratis, with the articles they make, in order that we the consumers may, by participating in these dispensations of Providence, gain immunity from further enjoyment of them—if we are fortunate enough to survive their ravages. And, furthermore, must we not accept these gifts in the same spirit with which they were sent? Can you not see each little nut-meat (tenement picked), every doll's dress (tenement stitched), monogrammed cigarettes (tenement licked), sweaters knit up and neckties tied up with choice assortments of germs—not to mention hair-brushes bristling with them. Real Irish Point too,—

the Point being that it is imported from the Italian tenements of the East Side. In time, we may hope to find all our articles of wearing apparel, from the flowers on milady's hat to the pom-poms on her slippers,—everything packed to the brim with scarlet fever, eczema, impetigo, and other, more violent but less nameable maladies, and all sent forth with a spirit of brotherly communism, each for all and all for each.

As I write this comment there comes a jubilant note from a prominent manufacturer in North Carolina, a proposition to solve the industrial problems of the state by installing knitting machines in the homes of the workers. In the light of our knowledge of the outcome of countless experiments that have been made along this very line, it would be ludicrous if it were not so pathetic—this flying to evils that they know not of, in a state that cannot even inspect its factories. What, then, may we expect when the difficulties are multiplied by annexing to them the homes of the people? My personal experience has been that home-work in the villages is frequently as harmful to both worker and consumer as is that in the worst of our city tenements.

Referring again to the fact that the treatment of tenement tasks is a job for Hercules, I can see that worthy gentleman approached by the king or some other of the apologists of the day, and putting soothing hands on his sturdy shoulders, they might have said, "Now look-a-here, Mr. Hercules," (or did they call him Doctor or Professor?), "them-there stables haint so bad. We been livin' with 'em for years an' we're purty healthy."

You know what he did. You know what we must do. Turn the River of Public Sentiment into them and clean out the whole business.

The home is for the family—Industry Keep Out.

IDEAL CHILD LABOR IN THE HOME.

JESSIE P. RICH,
Professor, Home Economics, Department, University of Texas.

In this paper we shall attempt to show not what labor the child can perform with a view of making his services most profitable to business interests, but what labor will be most conducive to the child's own best development and the welfare of society. As the health and character of the future citizens are vastly more important than the material output of the factories, we are interested primarily in work for the sake of the child, and are seeking to find kinds of work best suited to develop his body, mind and character.

Education in its modern theory has brought forward the child as a being to be educated and has denied the subject matter of education the right to be exploited longer. It is demanding that all capacities of the child shall be developed to the end of promoting vigor, health, power, knowledge, goodness, and the ability to work. To this end it would have the schools offer opportunities for acquiring habits and skill, teach the obligation of each individual to society, and the importance and pleasure of personal contribution to the welfare of the family group. It concerns itself, in short, with the development of the child as a whole for the purpose of making him not only good, but, as Socrates said, "good for something."

This new educational theory is based on scientific study. Dr. Donaldson found repeatedly in experimenting on cats, that when he sealed the eyes of new-born kittens with paraffine and left them sealed for fourteen days, these kittens never had as strong a vision as the other kittens of the same litter, which he had left to develop normally. He also found that any vision in the kittens with sealed eyes developed very slowly in comparison to the vision of the other kittens. Further, he found that when he opened the eyes of the kittens directly at birth, these kittens never acquired a maximum strength of vision. The ex-

periments indicate that for development stimulation is essential and that the highest development results when the stimulation comes at the proper time and is of the adequate amount.

Psychology further shows the relation of this stimulation or *im*pression to *ex*pression or doing. The child comes into the world endowed with a reflex nervous system. Every impression is received by a sensory nerve ending and is transmitted along the nerve fibre through the association cells to the motor nerve for muscular expression. Every impulse tends to work itself out in motion or action. The more numerous the points of legitimate contact between the nerve endings, the more paths by which impulses may travel, the more opportunity for expression—and the more capable and useful the individual. It is here that education has recognized the necessity and value of work for children. (Play is recognized as a necessity, but time prohibits its discussion here.) Unless many of the connections are made in childhood, they cannot be made at all. Habits of responsibility, thrift, usefulness, must be established if an individual is to be an efficient member of society. Work is the means of establishing these desirable paths of contact between nerve cells; at the same time it directs the activity accompanying all growth. It must not be monotonous work which merely uses one path and produces only fatigue. It must be constructive work which calls into play many association cells and secures many paths of contact between nerve fibres. It must be work which initiates new associations and which continually connects up with the scientific, economic, or social bearings of that particular job. A nation degenerates when its people are satisfied with mere passive possession of the results of the labor of others without feeling the necessity or desire of a further creative activity of their own.

Our educational theories recognize the need of work, but our schools are not doing what they should to carry it into practice, nor should the school do all. Fortunately it is not the only factor in the education of the child, and what difficulty the school finds in carrying out this expressional side of education the home should not encounter.

Let us look at typical American homes for a moment and see how they are meeting this responsibility. The tenement child, Mr. Hine has already discussed.

Here is a farm boy. Johnnie teases his father regularly every day in summer to go fishing a few hours, but his father says, "No, you must help Henry with the work. There is too much to do." And the mother rejoins, "Yes, John, you must help me with the wash." Poor John! He is up at five o'clock; does the chores; turns the wringer, and pumps the water. He runs the feed-cutter for his father to the tune, "Keep it going, Johnnie, keep it going. I must get out of the south field this afternoon." Then John must rush and shell the corn for the night's feeding and as he hurries through his work, he hears the ejaculation, "The wood must be piled before dark." He chops and piles wood from three to six, and then separates the milk while his mother says, "Come, come, Johnnie, you still have the chores to do." No wonder at night John falls into a heavy sleep and dreams of the comfort of the city and determines to get away. He is overworked, seldom rewarded, never encouraged.

In contrast, there is the home where wealth and luxury exists for the adults, but where the children often starve in idleness. We have all seen William, the handsome well-dressed boy, who stands on the corner at Riverside Drive about four o'clock each day and looks about wistfully, hoping that "something will turn up." He is tired of playing on the asphalt pavement between the rows of brown stone fronts. His mother is having company or has gone out to tea, or is resting and must not be disturbed. His father is at office or at the club, and the rugs and pillows in his own room are too delicate for the boys to come in and play on. Let us see what happens. A strange boy comes by and offers William a cigarette. For a lack of occupation, he is interested in this boy, takes a cigarette, asks him how to light it, and begins to smoke. Also he accepts the invitation of this "rowdy" to come down a few blocks and play with the "gang." This begins the dissipation, and before William is sixteen years old, his idleness has developed bad habits which a lifetime cannot eradicate, and which any amount of repentance can never undo.

How is it with the child in the comfortable city home?

There are Mary and John, who wished to beautify the front yard. John was to do the heavy work of digging and spading, and Mary was to do the light work of weeding and planting. They had two flower-beds, 12 by 4 feet. They laid them off

with great care, dug them early in the spring, and discussed with father and mother the best things to plant. They sent to Washington for bulletins on soil preparation and seed planting. They tested and planted their seed. They cared for their plants and watered them. When the plants blossomed, Mary each day arranged flowers for the dining-room and for father's office. John carried bouquets to the cripple children's hospital. Each worked on an average of one and a half hours daily. Both were delighted with the work and result and determined next year to have another garden.

Across the road from these children twelve-year old Tim lived. His parents neglected to give him an after school job. He wanted to do something, and answered a "Boy Wanted" ad at the Western Union office. Between the hours of four and seven he carried messages. It was stimulating work. He came and went continually, often to brilliantly lighted houses and gambling halls. He was often in touch with mysterious situations and secretive intrigue. It was new to him; it was stimulating. He was impressionable and untrained. His home had a big yard and garden. His mother kept chickens that they might have fresh eggs for the table, but a yard-man was hired to look after it all.

In another home we see Persis, a twelve-year old girl. She has some talent in music, and wishing to make some money with which to take lessons, determines to make it herself. She experimented and found a good variety of peanuts and a reliable method of preparing salted nuts. Her peanuts have become known and she sells all she can prepare in the one hour daily set aside for that purpose. She nets about twenty-five cents per day, an amount sufficient to accomplish her end and give her one dollar spending money per week. A splendid plan for learning thrift, value of money, and independence.

It is obvious many parents know little of the nature of work needed by, or suited to, their children. It is still work because there is work to be done, not because certain selected work is educational. So often it is all work or all play, not a fine use of each activity. The instances indicate that work has been demanded which resulted largely in fatigue and discouragement; or work has been allowed away from the guidance of the home

and undesirable associations have been inevitably formed; or work has been denied, and resulting idleness has reaped its reward. Notice, however, the children who engaged in excellent types of constructive work where real problems were involved. They were continually making new discoveries and establishing good habits. The occupations gave clearer understanding of industry; and in one instance legitimate money return resulted. In many ways the work delighted and educated the workers.

No definite scientific experiments have been performed to indicate the best kind of work for a given child at a given age; nor has a measure for the most beneficial amount of work been established. A study of the problem indicates that children need work as they need food and that this work should be constructive. It should give opportunity for self-expression and should contribute in some way to the welfare of the family group and free the children from being mere parasites. It should teach the value and joy of labor, and to accomplish its best results, it must be performed under the guidance of father, mother, or some trusted person. The contention that the activities have all been taken from the home and that there is nothing left for the children to do is not based on fact. A great deal of the drudgery of the home is gone, but at no time in our history has there been greater promise that the home will work out its own problems, and that our people through a better understanding of the principle of economic living will encourage those activities in the home which will conduce to its highest cultural and practical efficiency.

The school more and more will teach things in their relation to life, for this is true culture. Compulsory education laws will keep children in school, and these better trained fathers and mothers will more adequately provide for their offspring. The children will no longer be sent forth to toil for others or be brought up in idleness. The home will understand the educational necessity of work as well as play, and will allow each child the opportunity to contribute to the welfare of his family group and provide for his best development through the performance of a desirable amount of daily constructive work under proper guidance and direction. The child will not be exploited because of his ability to work, nor will his capacity for future work be dwarfed because of delayed or misdirected stimulation.

SIXTEEN YEARS OF CHILDHOOD FOR OHIO GIRLS.

ELLA M. HAAS,
State Factory Inspector, Dayton, Ohio.

In 1852 the General Assembly of Ohio created a law limiting the hours of labor for minors under eighteen years of age to ten hours per day. No one was appointed or employed to enforce this law and for thirty-two years this law stood as a dead issue on the statutes of Ohio. In 1884 the Department of Inspection was created, placing Mr. Henry Dorn of Columbus in charge. One man could only do a very limited amount of work in eighty-eight counties, but what he was able to do proved to be of such value that in 1885 the force was increased to four men and again in 1892 to twelve men including the Chief Inspector.

On March 4, 1908, the whole country was terribly shocked by the loss of 162 lives of little school children in the fire at Collinwood, Ohio. This calamity caused the public to inquire into the cause of the fire and demand that those be brought to justice who were responsible for the conditions which made it possible to trap these little ones in the building. The General Assembly in session at the time passed a bill on April 28, 1908, which provided that all school houses, colleges, opera houses, halls, theatres, churches, infirmaries, children's homes, hospitals, medical institutions and other buildings used for the assemblage or betterment of the people in the state of Ohio, should be inspected by the department with regard to the precaution taken for the prevention of fire, provision of fire escapes, exits, emergency exits, hallways, air space, and all other matters relating to the health and safety of those occupied or assembled in such structures. At the same time the bill increased the force of the department in this direction, and provided for the appointment of ten additional inspectors. The same Assembly wisely provided for the appointment of an assistant chief who was to be an architect, and whose duties were to carefully examine and approve

the plans and specifications, alterations or additions, of the above named buildings, and perform such other duties as the chief inspectors might direct.

The child labor laws and the laws for the protection of females in workshops, were amended at the same time. The chief inspector was authorized to appoint eight women visitors whose principal duties would be to visit all factories, shops, mercantile establishments etc., with a view to enforcing both the child labor laws and the laws governing the protection of females in workshops. This increased the working force to twenty-seven men and eight women. The increase was not in the working force alone, as the duties of the department were increased from time to time by the enactment of many new laws, and amendments made to the old laws, until today we feel that Ohio stands second to none of the states in the Union. In amending the child labor law during this same year, provision was made for an eight-hour day for girls from fourteen to eighteen years and boys from fourteen to sixteen, the hours to come between 7 A.M. and 6 P.M.

During this session of the legislature in 1908 public hearings before the house and senate were granted to the advocates and opponents of the child labor bill. Carloads of employers of labor representing mercantile and manufacturing industries came to these hearings to oppose the bill. The superintendent of a large manufacturing plant pled for the defeat of the bill with tears in his eyes because he claimed they would have to go out of Ohio to do business. Competition was so great that they could not do business on an eight-hour basis when the neighboring states operated on a ten or twelve-hour basis. In my judgment the unfairness of the arguments in opposition to the bill consisted in the fact that not a single employer had tested the eight-hour system for minors to prove it a failure.

In my arguments for the bill I contended that as an employee in the industrial world for thirty-three consecutive years I had kept records that would prove that in a shorter workday the employer would gain a higher degree of workmanship. The employee would be in better physical condition and better able to earn more money. After keeping some very careful records in my former position, the only decrease shown was in the cost of production; efficiency, health, earning-power and output all showed

an increase. The assembly decided to pass the bill. In 1911 I was working in the part of the state in which that large manufacturing plant was operating. To my great joy and satisfaction I found the superintendent who claimed they would have to move out of Ohio, still doing business at the old plant. A building costing $300,000 had been erected in which their primary help was employed on an eight-hour basis. The new addition to their plant and the fact that they are still doing business in Ohio is evidence alone that the shorter day for minors is a good, workable law. Employers all over the state tell us that it is a good law and they are willing to abide by it. In 1906, 4,563 establishments were inspected in which 5,334 children between fourteen and sixteen years of age were reported. In 1912, 11,786 establishments were inspected and 8,740 children between fourteen and sixteen years of age reported. These figures show a gain in four years over 200 per cent.

In 1912, our compulsory education law increased the age limit to 16 years for girls and 15 years for boys and enumerated the studies in which applicants for schooling certificates must be examined, namely: reading, spelling, writing, arithmetic, English grammar and geography. Through the cooperation of the truant officer and the factory inspector, many children are now in school until they are fifteen or sixteen years of age, where formerly they were either in some line of work that could not possibly benefit them mentally, morally or physically, or were on the streets. In very few instances is the law violated. The promising feature in enforcing it is the fact that such laws are educating our employers as well as the parents of the children. We contend that no girl under sixteen years of age is well enough balanced, mentally, morally or physically, to be thrust out in the mad race of our commercial life and there be equipped as a future wife and mother. The state owes this protection to her children since they are to be the future citizens of the state. Education only of the very best sort can help make for the highest type of citizenship. And Ohio today is not only educating her children for this citizenship in the grade schools, but also in the manual training and continuation school work where she is developing them for the commercial life without the terrible strain and stress that exists in the old industrial methods.

Ohio today stands first in her laws for the protection of her children by granting them through her compulsory education laws, fifteen or sixteen years of happy childhood. She has also provided protection for all women over eighteen years by establishing a fifty-four hour week or a nine hour day. In our mercantile establishments it has been a wonderful help to the women employees. The intent of this law was not to handicap employers or to make a one-sided law for women workers but to educate the public to do their shopping at better hours.

The result of the enforcement of this law has been most gratifying. In our large cities it has brought about a Saturday evening closing. In smaller towns the time is being adjusted by opening the stores at 8:30 in the morning, taking one and one-quarter hours for lunch and dinner and closing at 9 o'clock prompt on Saturday evening, and employers acknowledge they are taking care of a greater amount of business than ever before. In my own city of Dayton we were privileged to pass a Christmas season without a store keeping open a single evening. For the first time in the history of our city we enjoyed the real Christmas spirit. A municipal Christmas tree was placed on the Court House corner and our own juvenile court judge played the part of Santa. Choirs from the different churches rendered Christmas carols and everybody, rich and poor, went home on Christmas eve, not filled with commercialism but with the Christmas spirit. Our employers of labor are not only being educated to the higher ideals in their business relations, but helping to spread the gospel of the brotherhood of man.

PROPER ISSUANCE OF WORK PERMITS.

GEORGE A. HALL,
Secretary, New York Child Labor Committee.

Forty-three states of this Union have enacted laws requiring work permits of some character as the legal authority for the employment of children.* Such a general adoption of this idea since 1879, when only Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Pennsylvania had such requirements, is in itself significant as to the importance attached to the work permit system.

What then is the function of the work permit? Briefly stated, it is an administrative device to aid law-enforcement. As such it renders a twofold service. It protects employers against unintentional law-breaking, by serving as a guarantee that the child so employed is of the legal working age and has satisfied all the law's requirements. Secondly, it assures the child the minimum amount of education and physical development set up by the law as a pre-requisite for such permits. Without some such plan endless confusion and variation would result in ascertaining whether a child had satisfied the prescribed standards.

The success of the work permit idea depends largely on three elements: (1) effectiveness of the requirements; (2) personality and faithfulness of issuing officers, and (3) the detailed administrative procedure. This discussion is limited to the personality of the officials and the proper methods of issuing permits. Work permits stand for maturity, physical fitness and education of the child—hence the vital and far-reaching importance attached to their proper issuance. What agency should issue permits is not material to this discussion. Many states place this duty upon school officials, while others impose it upon factory inspectors, health officers, courts or other authorities. As a general rule

* The states lacking work permits requirements are: Nevada, New Mexico, Texas, Utah and Wyoming.

the authority best equipped to do the work most effectively should be given this responsibility.

Too much importance cannot be attached to the personality of the issuing officers. Rarely is this given the care it deserves. Instead we often find this work delegated to some low grade clerk, decrepit truant officer, or medical inspector incapacitated for other work. The explanation and instructions involved in administering the necessarily complicated provisions of most work permit laws call for an officer of untiring patience, courtesy, and above the average intelligence and fidelity. Otherwise abundant opportunity will be afforded not only to stir up uncalled for antagonism towards the law, but also for slackness, inefficiency and corruption. Officers who issue permits are sometimes tempted to deviate from the strict path of duty. A child's ideals of official right and justice should be sacredly preserved rather than wantonly shattered by the sight of such official corruption either because of friendliness, sympathy, or for pecuniary gain.

Most laws require the issuing officer to assure himself as to the (1) age, (2) education, and (3) physical fitness, of applicants for working papers. Requirements regarding age proof vary from the certain specified kinds which must be demanded in a prescribed order (appearing in the New York law) to the provision of some states making admissable an unsupported affidavit or any other evidence acceptable to the issuing officer. Whatever the statute, it is essential that this official be constantly alert to detect fraud, as certain parents will resort to any means of deception to get their children to work under the legal age. Nearly every issuing officer has had papers presented to him with clumsily altered dates of birth, or changed names. Instances have even been known of the issuance of baptismal certificates certifying to an alleged ceremony having taken place in Italy, when the vigilant officer of the law, upon holding the paper to light, detected the water mark of certain well known New England paper mills. As the desire to make children the legal working age is so closely related to the self-interest motive for sending them to work, it is not surprising that a few parents are unable to withstand this temptation. It is essential therefore that the issuing officer should examine with greatest vigilance the proofs of age submitted so as to protect the interests of children.

Where laws permit the issuing officer to accept any one of several kinds of proof of age without regard to order, a great responsibility rests upon this officer. Experience shows that under such circumstances the tendency is to follow the line of least resistance and to require whatever the applicant can furnish most easily. As such evidence is often distinctly less trustworthy, the issuing officer must thus share the responsibility of permitting a child to go to work who may not be actually of the required legal age. Authorities agree that the birth certificate or a transcript of such a record is the best obtainable evidence. Many officers, however, usually through fear of causing hardship, do not require the presentation of this evidence, but accept as bonafide the parent's statement that the birth certificate cannot be secured, particularly when the child was born across the water. A valuable sidelight on this alleged difficulty is found in a recent statistical study in New York City of the kinds of evidence of age filed during 1913 by parents applying at the Manhattan office. Of 20,000 children receiving work permits, 74 per cent. furnished birth certificates. Segregating the foreign born it was learned that 64 per cent. filed such proof. For American born, the percentage was 79 per cent. Facts such as these show conclusively that, when required, the best available evidence can generally be secured.

Certain states require school authorities to certify that the child has fulfilled the educational requirements of the law. Where this is the only prescribed method for determining educational fitness, the issuing officer logically accepts without question such certification. A few states require in addition that the issuing officer must satisfy himself that the child has the ability to read and write simple sentences in the English language. Where this obtains the officer, by the use of a reader and by dictating simple sentences, must actually test the child's mental ability. Under such conditions care should be used to provide an adequate test. It is absurd to prescribe sentences like "I want to go to work" or "This is a hot day"—suitable perhaps to fourth grade children—for children seeking work permits who are required to have completed the sixth grade.

In most states, applicants for work permits must, on the physical side, merely satisfy the issuing officer that they have reached the

normal development of children of their ages, and that they are in sound health and physically able to perform the work they intend to do. Unfortunately, however, experience has shown that the enforcement of such a provision in too many instances is a mere form. Under a new law in New York (effective October 1, 1912) not only are physical examinations required of all children applying, but the statute calls for detailed records in each case. The same result, however, may be secured by an administrative order. The New York blank was planned to require a minimum amount of work upon the part of the officer, who is directed in the law to file the original record in his office and the duplicate with the Labor Commissioner. These ends are accomplished by using ordinary carbon paper and a book in which the forms are printed in duplicate, the original or top sheet being of thin paper, especially designed for use with carbon paper. An important advantage of this plan is the elimination of errors which invariably occur in transcribing records. To economize time and effort, the desired information is indicated as far as possible by check marks. With the assistance of clerical help to enter the answers upon the blank—the practice in New York City—it has been found that a child can be completely examined in from six to ten minutes, including time occupied in loosening the dress or blouse for the heart and lungs examination. The form calls for data on the following points: child's name; address and date of birth; eye-sight, eye diseases and hearing; height, weight and pulse rate; condition of teeth, heart, lungs, and pharynx; manner of breathing; neck glands, anaemia and hernia; condition of speech; spine and joints; skin diseases and goiter; vaccination and father's nativity.

But even the most careful work of the medical examiner may be materially impaired by improper surroundings. For example, the difficulties are obvious of trying to test hearing accurately when the examination room windows open upon a city street where heavy trucks constantly rumble by over cobblestones. A primary requisite to the best work is a separate examination room. To secure quiet, privacy, and freedom from excitement and other distracting influences common to the usual crowded city office, a special room devoted to the work is very desirable. In one of our larger cities possible objection on the

ground of having girls examined by male physicians has been overcome in a commendable manner by assigning a woman nurse (usually in uniform) to assist the physician.

A few officers are realizing that their responsibility does not cease with the physical examinations. The children rejected because physically unfit, they assert, need special attention so that their defects may be corrected. This has been recognized in Rochester, N. Y., since 1906. Children excluded because of defective dentition, tonsils or adenoids, are given free treatment at a dispensary of the Public Health Association if the parent is unable to pay for it. Recently in New York City an arrangement has been made to refer to school nurses for after-care treatment, certain children rejected because physically unfit, particularly those suffering from malnutrition or anaemia. Public and private agencies come to the aid of such children by providing a few weeks' or months' stay in the country, or in other cases by providing eye glasses.

For the smooth and efficient management of the exacting work of issuing employment permits, adequate records kept up to date are a necessity. Permits should be numbered serially, the office record in each instance being numbered to correspond. This record may be kept on individual index cards or in a ledger. In an office where only a few persons handle the records, the carding of the desired data is strongly recommended. Such a method allows alphabetical arrangement not only by letter, but by the vowel, thus reducing to a minimum the time required to find a given name; it makes possible, through the use of different colored cards, classification of the names by date of expiration, by type of school attended, by kinds of evidence of age filed, etc., and the ready elimination of "dead wood" through the removal of cards at any time to a separate file. Where many clerks, sometimes careless and inexperienced, must use the records, the dangers through loss of cards out of the file, improper filing, and occasional upsetting of an entire drawer, present such serious objections that the ledger or book record, with all its faults, may be preferable. In either case the record must show at least the permit number, child's name and address, parents' names (for identification purposes), the date of birth, and the school attended. Where clerical help will permit, it is very desir-

able for statistical purposes to add the kind of evidence filed and the school grade. The office record should also bear the application number, as all children who apply do not get permits.

In many offices where careful records are kept of children receiving work permits, no record at all is kept of children refused. A register for "refusals" is indispensable both to enable the answering of inquiries, and to make possible a study of the effectiveness or the undue rigidity of the law. The fact, for example, that "refusals for insufficient education" amounted to three hundred to four hundred a year, resulted in one local superintendent of schools issuing an order prescribing a special scholastic examination for all children before they apply for work permits. Records of refusals should show the same information appearing on the "granted" lists, with the addition of the "reason for refusal." The following terms are used in New York City: (1) insufficient education, *i. e.*, unable either to present a certificate from school authorities showing that the applicant has completed the required amount of school work, or to pass satisfactorily the educational test of the issuing officer; (2) insufficient tuition, *i. e.*, unable either to present any certificate of schooling, or presenting one which does not show the required number of days of attendance at school; (3) insufficient evidence of age, *i. e.*, unable either to present any proof of age or presenting evidence altered, wrongly or incompletely filled out, or otherwise unsatisfactory to the issuing officer; (4) under age, *i. e.*, under the legal age for permits by the statement of parent or child, or by the evidence of age presented; (5) physical incapacity, *i. e.*, determined to be unfit to work by the physical examiner.

Experience has shown in large cities the value of giving children refused permits a signed statement stating the reason. Otherwise a false or distorted account of the action of the officer may be given by the child. Much time and work can be saved by using rubber stamps for the kinds of evidence filed, the causes of refusal, school grades, etc.

It is strongly urged that issuing officers file together all papers relating to each child, the outside record backed or endorsed to show the application number or name. In New York the evidence of age, the school certificate, the sentences comprising the educational test given by the issuing officer, and the physical examination

record, are all filed inside the application blank. As a convenient method of keeping together papers in each case, the Commissioner of Labor in New York State has had printed a sample jacket or envelope opening at the end, on the back of which appears the application form. Proof of age submitted by applicants should be filed in all cases, except family Bibles, framed certificates or other bulky documents in which case a transcript should be placed on file. Otherwise the same evidence, altered to meet the needs, may be used for other applicants at some subsequent time.

If not in the law, an administrative ruling should be made requiring parents or guardians of children to come before the issuing officer to sign the application for the permit. Otherwise many children will leave school against their parent's wishes who might be easily afforded the advantages of more schooling. The plan followed in some places of allowing the child to take the application home for signature is not a wise substitute. Children can readily get a willing friend to sign the parent's name, and the issuing officer would not be in a position to detect the forgery.

Next to sufficient and well kept records come good reports—the latter obviously impossible without the former. With such a mine of valuable information readily accessible to the officer issuing work permits, it is most shortsighted to fail to make this information available to the public through frequent reports. This is admittedly an arduous task unless throughout the year care and system are constantly employed. Compiling annual reports from the weekly, monthly, or quarterly summaries, is then attended with little difficulty. In such reports the main points of interest are the statistics showing the number of children granted and refused certificates and the reasons for the refusals, classified as suggested. Other facts such as the kinds of evidence of age filed, the school grades, and the kind of school, the physical qualifications of applicants, are all of great value, and may be added whenever feasible. Reports also furnish a necessarily busy superior officer an invaluable means of judging the efficiency of the issuing officer's work. Comparison of the work of different officers or of different years will often reveal conditions which would otherwise go unnoticed.

Standardization of blanks, forms, reports and the detailed procedure of issuing work permits all call for statewide supervision of this important work. A few states already place this responsibility upon the commissioner of education or the labor commissioner. To ensure uniformity and efficiency, as well as to afford all children equally the benefits which the law is designed to give, such supervision is imperative.

Lest carping critics say the methods here urged are of academic value only, it is worth while to mention a few practical uses to which well kept records in a work permit office may be put. For example, children in most states who get permits and secure work are exempt from further attending day school. By securing weekly lists of these names the official enforcing the compulsory education law can then authorize their legal discharge from school. Of greater importance is the means thus available to the school officials of finding out the children who do not obtain permits and who must therefore continue to attend school. Failure to connect up these offices in some such way will result in a breakdown at that point of the compulsory education law. Again, work permit records are of definite value to the public as an index of the effectiveness of the schools in fitting children for the battles of life.

Employment certificate offices furnish unusual opportunity for social agencies and public-spirited individuals to cooperate with officials. The much needed follow-up care and dental or medical attention for children refused permits because physically unfit, present a unique opportunity for such cooperation. In several cities private societies, clinics, and individual physicians have given free treatment to such children. Settlement workers have acted as volunteer "coaches" to help foreign born children acquire a knowledge of English so as to meet the law's requirements. The issuance of work permits has its rush seasons, notably the end of June and the end of January when school promotions take place. At such time, by acting as volunteer clerks, workers from private societies have given much appreciated help to the overtaxed officials.

Year after year much earnest thought and effort is expended by officials and public-spirited citizens in an effort to improve our existing child labor laws. While no well-informed person

would decry this effort, especially in certain states which are notably backward in the protection accorded to working children, it is important not to lose sight of efficiency and thoroughness in the enforcement of laws already secured. In such a study, the question of the proper issuance of work permits presents a most fruitful field of inquiry.

WOMAN'S PLACE IN LAW ENFORCEMENT.

ANNA HERKNER,
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What I have to say under this broad title will be limited to the experience of one state with five women working on the administration of the child labor law during the brief period of less than two years. The generally poor administration of child labor laws is not due so much to any inherent difficulty in the task, as it is to the fact that that part of the public that is in a position to influence their administration is indifferent, if not opposed, to the restriction of child labor; while those who honestly and aggressively favor the protection of children are not only a small minority, but many of these are unenfranchised and consequently without influence.

Once in a long time when the dominant political party has become so entrenched that it defiantly persists in the most flagrant corruption, it arouses to the struggle for its defeat other than the merely partisan elements. In such a situation, those who seek progress through social legislation throw themselves into the fight, and when the minority party, augmented by the "independents," has come into power, these "reformers," if politically wise, ask as their share of the spoils a few such appointments as will bring their influence to the administration of social laws. It was in this way that one state placed the administration of the child labor law in the hands of inspectors who actually believed in the principle of the law and were ready to give all their wits and energy to making its provisions a reality and not a mere statute.

The regulation of child labor falls into two distinct parts: the first consists of guarding the entrance to industry by a careful examination of all those who wish to enter and by refusing admission to those who are not equal to the task that industry imposes; the second consists of inspecting the establishments

within the industrial field to make sure that no child has forced an entrance through other than the usual way, and that children are not assigned to occupations that are specifically prohibited by law. And if the regulation is done with a view to eliminating the evil of child labor eventually, then the inspection further involves a careful study of the occupations of children.

Let us look into the two component parts of the administration of child labor legislation and see just see what characteristics are needed for the careful issuance of employment certificates and for effective inspection. Such resistance to the restriction of child labor as comes from the parents of prospective little wage-earners is encountered in the consideration of applicants for permits. Throughout the United States, the arbitrary basis of a minimum age limit has been made the basis of child labor legislation in spite of the fact that birth registration is either not compulsory or of but recent date in most of the country. The scientific spirit of the age has not penetrated sufficiently to give the support of public opinion to the officer who attempts to establish a child's age by documentary proof rather than accept the statement of a poverty-driven, illiterate, ignorant or non-English speaking mother. Even intelligent, well-meaning citizens are frequently shocked that a mother's word should not be accepted as infallible. In re-licensing under the new law which requires definite proof of age, we found a very large per cent. of mothers had erred in the date of the birth of their children who had secured permits under the old law. And so the mere exacting of proof of age, if we are to prevent a revulsion against it, must not only be persistent, but must be equally tactful and above all educational. Until public birth records are more complete, and available without charge, persistence in ascertaining what proof of age is available and insisting on it, calls for the patience in constantly repeated detail that woman's work in the generations past has developed in her. To bring an obstinate parent to a compliance with the law and still maintain the dignity of the law, calls for exactly the same qualities required in the firm but reasoning discipline of children. Comparing the masculine and feminine mind in their methods of dealing with the problems that come up in the administration of a child labor law, this distinction was once made: the masculine mind is inclined to

make broad rulings and apply them in a general way, while the feminine mind persists in adapting the rule to the individual case. And it is this very quality, to my mind, that makes for a careful and humane administration of law. To be concrete, we say that an applicant for a permit must produce proof of his age and that in the absence of such proof, the parent's statement must be accepted. We recognize a transcript from the public birth records and a baptismal certificate as satisfactory evidence, but these particular kinds of proof are not available for all children. Some races do not baptise, and all children were not born in the community. In adapting the principle of requiring proof of age to the individual case, the feminine mind inquires for the kind of records that the customs, traditions or social status of the race, creed, denomination or individual family are likely to make available. The result is that during the year 1913, some sort of proof of age was secured from 9,962 or ninety per cent. of the 10,654 children who secured one or another kind of eploymment certificate.

In the work of inspection, woman has three advantages. Thorough inspection by her is accepted as a matter of fact by the employer whereas a man inspector is not expected to be particular about small things. To the child, a woman is not an officer of the law in the usual conception of that term. Consequently, the information secured from the child is more complete because it is given without the hesitation and confusion that come of awe, if not of positive fright, and there is no feeling of alarm needlessly aroused in the child. In industries where large numbers of girls are employed the nature of the work is frequently such that street clothes are changed for older and looser garments. If the inspector be a man and especially a young man, the situation is often embarrassing for the girls, and in turn is often made embarassing for the young inspector when he tries to establish the truth about the age of girls whom he suspects to be under sixteen years. There can be no question but that there should be women inspectors for all the industries and establishments where girls are employed.

Ability to observe carefully, taking into account all factors involved, and to describe accurately are essential if the problem of young children in "occupations dangerous to life or limb or

injurious to the health or morals" is ever to be more than a well-sounding phrase. Even a model child labor law can specify only in a general way the occupations to be forbidden to children under sixteen years because they are dangerous. Thus our law reads that "No child under the age of sixteen years shall be employed, permitted or suffered to work * * * operating or assisting to operate a circular or band saw." An examination of the wooden box industry shows a large number of boys employed as "taker-off," that is, standing back of the circular saw and removing the board cut by the saw. Two persons work on the saw: the sawyer or operator, and the "taker-off" or assistant. But because the "taker-off" is not called an "assistant" to the sawyer, we cannot withdraw boys from this occupation without the threat of litigation.

Positive resistance comes from employers in other industries where children are employed in dangerous proximity to unguarded moving belts and rapidly revolving wheels, and in occupations involving less striking, but none the less certain, physical injury. But with the rapid development in industry and the constant change in industrial processes, it is not practicable to enumerate in the law the many minutely specialized processes. Protection must be secured to the child through the administration of the law. We are working out the problem in this way: in addition to inspection for violations of the undisputed sections of the law, our inspectors make a study of those industries where children are employed in occupations suspected to be injurious. An accurate, detailed description of the occupations of children against a background of a general description of the industry is required. This is filed in the office for a time while data as to the positive effect of these occupations is collected by the examining physician from examination of children leaving these specific occupations. If these examinations show a tendency of the occupation to physical injury, we watch for a case where the relation between occupation and injury is clear, and then having secured evidence enough to prove the injurious character of the work, we are in a position to have our ruling sustained if we refuse to issue employment certificates for that occupation. If the danger in an occupation is that of accident rather than of disease, the method of procedure is the same, except that in addition to gath-

ering evidence from children who are leaving the occupation we likewise watch the newspaper for accounts of accidents. This is rather a tedious process, but the patience and continued interest and watchfulness of the women inspectors brings us slowly but surely to our goal—the protection of the working child.

Violations of the child labor law are not hard to find. Until the department enforcing the law has been earnestly and persistently on the job for a long time, such requirements as keeping lists of the children employed, permits filed, returning permits to the office, etc., will be neglected. By systematically calling such neglect to the attention of employers, the habit of observing these technical provisions is gradually formed. A carefully developed system of cooperation with the school attendance department will eliminate two classes of common violations, namely, the entrance of children under the legal working age into industry, and the employment of children without the requisite work certificate. We report weekly to the school attendance department all children who have been refused permits, together with such data as will make it possible to locate them easily, and in turn all children who have withdrawn from school are reported to us every few days. These are checked against our files to see which ones have secured permits. The school attendance officers follow up all children who have been refused permits as well as those who have withdrawn from school and have not applied for work permits. In addition to this, at the end of each month we report the full number of children to whom original permits were issued and the number coming from each school, and receive a counter report from the schools of the number of children, permanently withdrawn during the month. In these ways it is possible to eliminate all the violations that might be attributed to ignorance and carelessness. Those that remain, then, are of a more serious nature, and if properly prepared for the courts, should command serious consideration. The working up of this class of violations is much the same kind of work that is done in the investigation of cases by such private agencies as the Federated Charities and Children's Aid Societies. Serious violations calling for prosecutions are not committed by employers whose past record has been absolutely clear. Indeed some of the worst violations consist in persistence in small offenses.

The importance of complete detailed records in the effort to secure convictions and thus eventually to eliminate violations cannot be over-estimated. Inspectors generally are glad enough to report interesting "finds" in the day's work and to discuss them in detail verbally. But to get the thing that the inspectors find repeatedly, as well as the unusual items, into careful, systematic, interlocking records, means uninteresting drudgery and accuracy in ever-recurring detail. The rapidity with which women have been drafted into clerical work everywhere is testimony of their ability to do this kind of work well.

Employers, no doubt, are the best judges of the work of inspectors. In our recently adjourned legislature, canners, newspaper publishers and other opponents of the restriction of child labor did not object to twelve years as too high a minimum age, provided that its enforcement was not left to women who took it literally. Is it possible that the law-making element of the public has so long used laws to legalize what would otherwise by unanimous consent be considered wrong, that even the judge of a juvenile court, when asked to cooperate in the enforcement of the newsboy regulation, met the proposal with the question, "Is it really necessary to enforce this law?" His associate on the bench frankly declared that he did not believe in the necessity of such regulation and that his own boy would be allowed to violate the law. In the face of such an attitude on the part of men entrusted with the protection of children, it does seem necessary to bring to the task a new class of officials who believe that the child protective laws mean what they say.

EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN METHODS OF TRAINING FACTORY INSPECTORS.

HERSCHEL H. JONES,
Special Agent, National Child Labor Committee.

With all the rapid progress in labor legislation in recent years, and the increase in the extent of state inspection of working places, the goal of protection at which these laws are aimed is still far distant. With the passage of the laws, our task is only begun. The biggest problem now before us is the perfection of their administration.

State after state has had to learn by its own experience that labor laws do not enforce themselves. In 1912 Mississippi passed a child labor law with no provision for enforcement except that, at least once each month, county sheriffs were to inspect the factories where children were employed and county health officers were to inspect them at least twice each year. When the National Child Labor Committee investigated the cotton mills and canneries in January, 1914, wholesale violations were found. Some of the mills claimed not to know that there had been any change in the law since 1908 and only one of the establishments visited was living up to the 1912 statute. In Mississippi grand juries are supposed to investigate violations of the child labor law. But when a signed statement, giving the names and ages of the children found working in violation of the law, was presented to the grand jury in one of the Gulf Coast counties, the jury merely appealed to the Oyster Commission to enforce the child labor law.

But inspection does not mean protection unless those to whom this important function is entrusted are competent and efficient. Our first efforts toward enforcement have centered in inspections and appropriations. We have gotten more political jobs to be handed out at each change of administration, but only in a few states have intelligent standards been established for

the selection of the inspectors or their training after appointment. The recent bulletin of the American Association for Labor Legislation on Administration of Labor Laws, points out that only nine states in the Union have a merit or civil service system of choosing factory inspectors. They are New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Ohio, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Colorado, and California. Five other states have no civil service requirements, but require practical experience.* The extent to which these supposed qualifications of "practical experience" actually make any difference in the competency of those appointed may be illustrated by the situation in one state where the law states that the two men inspectors must have "practical knowledge of factories, machine or workshops." The labor inspection is under the Department of Agriculture, Labor and Statistics, and the importance of labor inspection in the affairs of the department is indicated by its letter head. In big letters across the top are the words "Department of Agriculture" and in small type underneath are the words "Labor and Statistics." Neither of the two inspectors has any knowledge whatsoever of factories or machinery, and both are mere political appointees. The assistant labor inspector is not only hopelessly incompetent but has not even been giving his time to inspection. While drawing a salary from the state for inspecting factories, and guarding the welfare of working women and children, he holds down a job in a newspaper office in an adjoining state. In discussing the qualifications for the assistant inspectors position, the Commissioner himself makes no mention of the "knowledge of factories and machinery," but says that he must be a (1) Democrat, (2) a Catholic, (3) a member of a labor union, and (4) from the eastern end of the state. When the vacancy in the office of chief inspector occurred, no effort was made by the Commissioner of Agriculture and Labor to find a man who complied with the requirements of the law. The man selected had been a "mailer" in a newspaper office.

In decided contrast to this are the very rigid qualifications for positions as factory inspectors in European countries. There factory inspection is a profession which calls for highly qualified men and women who enter it as a life work. In Prussia the

*See end of article for details of state regulations.

requirements are so strict that only the exceptional young man could comply with them before the age of twenty-seven or twenty-eight, if he started as a boy with this profession as his aim. Even Russia requires not only that candidates have a university education, especially on the technical side, and show that they possess practical industrial knowledge, but that they pass an examination on the principles of constitutional, civil and criminal law, political economy, labor laws, knowledge of a branch of industry in which machines are used and of sanitary conditions. After passing the examination they take posts where they obtain a practical training under the supervision of the senior inspectors and eventually are appointed to fill vacancies among the district inspectors.

In England the candidates for inspectorships are entered on a list from which selections for nomination for competitive examination are made whenever a vacancy occurs in the staff. To be entered on this list the candidate must submit in his own handwriting an application accompanied by a few testimonials based upon personal knowledge of the candidate, indicating what experience, if any, he has had in factories and workshops, and giving information as to his character and fitness for appointment. The persons nominated are examined by the Civil Service Commissioners in the following subjects: (a) obligatory—English composition and arithmetic; (b) optional—English literature, English history, general modern history, French, German, or Italian, mathematics, economics, chemistry, physics, and (for men) practical mechanism and industrial machinery or (for women) physiology and bacteriology. Four of the optional subjects may be selected and the candidates are required to pass in three, and successful candidates are appointed to serve two years on probation. At the end of this period they are required to pass a qualifying examination in factory law and sanitary science.

Every candidate for an appointment on the inspectorial staff in France must offer himself for examination and be not less than twenty-six nor more than thirty-five years of age. In a written examination the candidate must answer one question on labor laws, one on industrial hygiene and one on industrial technology. In the oral examination questions are asked on the same subjects and also on electricity and principles of criminal

law. Since 1907 candidates have also had to pass a practical examination in hygiene and applied mechanics, and they may also offer as an optional subject a practical manual test giving them an opportunity to show their practical knowledge of industry. The successful candidate must serve a year as a provisional inspector before becoming a sectional inspector with the same powers as a full inspector.

But in no country are the processes of selecting and training inspectors more worthy of study than in Saxony and Prussia. Only in these two states has a system been adopted under which the candidates have to follow a course of study regulated in detail by the authorities, commencing with the technical study of machine construction, mining and chemistry, followed by the study of political economy and administrative law, and finishing with public examinations.*

In none of our state departments is there anything like the apprenticeship training of Prussia, Saxony or England. The extension of the civil service plan through such a probationary period is next, if not equal, in importance to the selection of qualified men and women to start with. In states where there are few, if any, experienced inspectors who may be made use of in training others, much can be accomplished by calling the inspectors together for frequent conferences and having experts address them. A universally high standard of organization and efficiency of inspection in all the states will probably not be attained until the federal Department of Labor takes up the problem of assisting state departments in perfecting their work and in training their inspectors. A federal child labor law with federal inspection of establishments employing children would be a great step in this direction.

A National Museum of Safety as a division of the federal Department of Labor could study and experiment with all kinds of safety devices and issue instructive bulletins and detailed descriptions for the use of inspectors in all state departments, just as the Home Office in England supplies all such information to its district inspectors. Special short courses for factory inspectors in connection with a university course may sometimes be practical, but cooperation with experts of the Department of

*See end of article for details of regulations in Saxony.

Labor offers the most logical method of bringing special knowledge and experience to the state departments that need it.

One cannot avoid contrasting the methods of careful selection and thorough training of inspectors employed by the large industrial insurance companies with the wasteful and hopelessly inefficient administration of factory inspection in many states. The private corporation searches the country over to find the most expert men. It even goes to Europe for them. The inspection work is separated into different groups and only specially trained men are permitted to handle each class of inspection. Before men are engaged they must pass a rigid medical examination. Their training after engagement begins with a course at the home office in the methods of drawing up reports and handling and scrutinizing reports before recommendations are made to the assured. They commence their practical training in the field under the guidance of a supervising inspector. They are never allowed to work independently until the supervising inspector is satisfied that they thoroughly understand inspection work.

When the protection of the lives of factory workers means dollars and cents to a big corporation it wants nothing but experts to supervise the conditions under which they work. When the state pays out its money for the safety and welfare of its working people, whether the employer chooses to protect himself by insurance or not, it turns that important function over to a political henchman and trusts that the existence of an office will mean the enforcement of laws.

Civil service requirements, elimination of politics, long tenure of service, more thorough supervision and administration of labor departments, training of new inspectors before giving them responsibility, more adequate salaries and pensions after long service—all these things must come before factory inspection in this country will attain to that degree of perfection which will enable us to boast not only of our laws but our enforcement of them.

Just as child labor legislation has led the way toward other vital labor legislation, so will the demand for complete and efficient enforcement of child labor laws lead toward efficiency in the whole field of factory inspection. In the new work of

studying and perfecting the enforcement of child labor laws which the National Child Labor Committee is undertaking, it hopes in some degree to lead the way toward a greater appreciation on the part of the public of the importance of expert efficient administration of all labor legislation.

REGULATIONS FOR INSPECTORS IN SAXONY.

1. In order to be eligible for an appointment in the Department of Industrial Inspection, a candidate must not be too old, must be certified by a medical officer to be in suitable physical condition, and must have had a thorough general education and a diploma from a technical high school or a mining academy. He must also have a sound knowledge of public, administrative and industrial law, political economy and the prevention of accidents and industrial hygiene.

2. He has also to show that after finishing his technical course he was employed as engineer or chemist for two or three years in a factory or works, and in that capacity was able to become acquainted at first hand with the work, mode of thought and life of the workmen and with the relations between employers and employees.

3. A successful candidate must go through a period of training before appointment as an inspector, during which he must become acquainted with his future official duties. This training lasts, as a rule, for at least eighteen months, fifteen of which are passed in working in an inspection district and three in working under an administrative authority. The official to whom the candidate is assigned for training, reports on the results of the training and the suitability of the candidate for employment in the Department of Industrial Inspection, his capacity, facility of expression, both in speaking and writing, his tact in dealing with employers and employees and his official and private conduct.

4. After completing his training a candidate must enter for an examination set by a board of examiners appointed by the Minister of the Interior. Permission to enter for the examination depends upon his having successfully completed his training and proved his suitability for appointment. The examination consists of two parts, one written and one oral. In the former the candidate must write two theses dealing with:

(a) The practice of industrial inspection.

(b) Public, administrative, industrial and insurance law or political economy, or the prevention of accidents and industrial hygiene.

If neither thesis is satisfactory the candidate cannot be admitted to a second examination until he has had a further six months' training under an inspectorial authority. (He may be paid a salary during his training, in addition to his traveling expenses.)

5. A candidate who is successful in the written examination must next pass the oral examination, and be asked questions in the following subjects: (a) law, (b) political economy, (c) prevention of accidents and industrial hygiene, and (d) practical work of the department.

In Prussia the regulations are even more exacting. In order to qualify for an appointment a candidate must:

(1) Have had at least three years technical training.

(2) Have studied law and political science for at least one and one-half years.

(3) Have passed two examinations at a high school (known in Germany as a gymnasium) and have obtained the qualifying certificate of a nine-grade secondary school.

For the first examination required of the candidate with the above qualifications, one of several regular technical university examinations are required or a doctor's degree in chemistry in a Prussian university.

The second examination of probationers must be preceded by a course of at least one and one-half years training under the industrial authorities. In this period of the training the probationer is expected to take active part in all branches of the work in the inspection district to which he is assigned, including not only inspections of industrial establishments and steam boilers, but the keeping of office records and drafting of correspondence. He must keep a diary showing exactly in what manner he is employed during his training. On the completion of the course he must pass a test to show the result of it.

After he has successfully completed his training the probationer has to pass a second and final examination and for this purpose he must attend a gymnasium for at least three terms in order to study law and economics with special reference to industrial administration, industrial hygiene, and public welfare. The written part of the examination consists of two theses, one on a subject relating to industrial inspection, the other relating to political economy or administration. For the oral examination, knowledge must be had of the following:

(1) Technical subjects including industrial hygiene.

(2) Law and political economy.

(3) Practical work of inspection.

The probationer has also to give an address based on documents delivered to him three days previously.

NOTES ON REGULATIONS FOR INSPECTORS IN THE STATES.

ALABAMA.—Inspector of Jails and Almshouses must be a physician.

CALIFORNIA.—Civil Service Commission has given no examinations yet for factory inspectors.

COLORADO.—Civil Service Commission has given no examinations yet for factory inspectors.

CONNECTICUT.—Since civil service law was passed in 1913, three men and one woman added to inspection force, all experienced in some trade.

KANSAS.—Woman factory inspector must have had two years actual experience.

ILLINOIS.—Factory inspection appointments removed from civil service. Now made by Governor and confirmed by senate, hence infected with politics. Ten inspectors must qualify as experts on machinery, exhaust systems, suction fans, structural work, etc.

INDIANA.—Inspectors must have ten years experience according to law.

MASSACHUSETTS.—One examination for industrial health inspectors since establishment of State Board of Labor and Industries.

NEW JERSEY.—Examination for inspector:

1. General test for quickness of intelligence, breadth of view, personal point of view on work.
2. Written report on inspection of plant and recommendations.
3. Practical arithmetic.
4. Duties and physical examination.

Technical questions for fire inspector, for blower inspector, for structural iron expert, for electrical inspector, rigid.

MINNESOTA.—First examination for factory inspector held June, 1913. Experienced men put on force as result, and trained by inspectors for thirty days.

NEW YORK.—Examination of inspectors under civil service law includes:

1. Knowledge of labor law, and ability to write concise synopsis of it.
2. Arithmetic, mechanics, factory construction, ability to make reports, judgment as to procedure in case of violations.

More difficult examination for supervising inspector.

New inspectors put under direction of supervising inspector.

OHIO.—Civil service law went into effect January 1, 1914. No examinations yet.

PENNSYLVANIA.—Inspectors trained for two or three months by special engineers of Department of Labor. Chief inspector visits them in field and coaches them. In special inspections, inspectors act on instructions from office. All inspectors attend conference on welfare and efficiency held annually.

TENNESSEE.—Inspectors must be competent and practical mechanics, according to law.

WISCONSIN.—Inspectors required to attend conferences called by Industrial Commission.

ENFORCING OFFICIALS AND THE COURTS.

MORNAY WILLIAMS,
Chairman, New York Child Labor Committee.

In inaugurating any legislative reform there are always two elements to be considered before the reform measure becomes effective: enactment and enforcement.

Given an aroused public sentiment brought home to the legislators, enactment of a reform law is comparatively easy. Indeed, in not a few cases, if the arousing of public sentiment be caused by some spectacular disaster or widely heralded case of hardship, the enactment of hastily drawn but supposedly remedial legislation is almost too easy.

Enactment of remedial legislation, however, is not everything. As to law as well as to life, republics have short memories; or, to change the metaphor, the hot fire of public indignation, that caused the legislative pot to boil, is a fire of brushwood, which burns out before the mess of pottage is properly cooked. There is a new law on the statute-books, or to use Blackstone's famous phrase, a new rule of civil conduct prescribed by the superior and which the inferior is bound to obey; but the question remains, Will the inferior obey, and, if he does not, what will the superior do? The inferior, of course, is the individual; the superior, the commonwealth. Now the commonwealth acts—must act—through agents, either administrative, enforcing officials, or interpretative and punitive, the courts, and on them depends the effectiveness of the new enactment, its enforcement.

Anglo-Saxon law has two great divisions, customary law and statutory law. Customary law, as the name implies, arises from the people by slow development and is interpreted by the courts; statutory law, Minerva-like, springs full panoplied from the Jovian minds of the legislators. But, alas! there is a tremendous mortality among these full grown and well armoured infants, and many statutes are only known as dead letters, while

others, which seem lusty enough at first, are slaughtered at the command of that great Herod, the Constitution, by his valiant soldiers, the Courts.

It need scarcely be said that all reform laws, and among them child labor laws, are statutory and, therefore, subject to the high death rate of such laws at the hands of officials or courts. The purpose of this paper, as the writer conceives it, is to point out the reasons for the difficulty in the enforcement of child labor laws and to suggest remedies.

Now the first difficulty inheres in the phenomena already set forth, namely, such laws are necessarily statutory, that is, created by one body of men acting often under the impulse of a public sentiment, too often transient in its nature, and are left to be carried out, construed and validated (or invalidated) by other bodies of men. This is the weakness of all statutory law; it emanates from one body, largely a popular one, subject to the influence of popular opinion, but it must be enforced by another set of officials, charged with other duties in addition to the enforcement of the particular statute that may be in question and therefore able to confuse the issue if the non-enforcement of the statute is criticised, while the validity of the statute is referred to still another body, the courts, who are even further removed from the influence of popular opinion. In many instances this very weakness of statutory law acts as a social service, for it impedes, where it does not entirely defeat, the course of hasty and ill-considered legislation.

In the case of child labor laws, however, other difficulties arise in addition to the general difficulty just discussed.

The paid labor of children comes out of present day industrial and mercantile conditions, and its suppression is opposed by two great classes of force: (1) the force of mercenary greed—the greed of parents and the greed of employers; (2) the force of uninformed opinion, including thereunder inertia and incorrect ideas as to child labor. Of these two classes of force, the first, that of mercenary greed, operates chiefly upon enforcing officials through political and social pressure; the second, that of uninformed opinion operates largely upon the courts.

Taking up the consideration of these force and their spheres of action, it should be noted that the first, greed, as it refers

to parents, has at least two partial excuses, need and ignorance. The parents of these little toilers have for the most part been themselves toilers in their youth, they are poor to a degree where poverty hurts, and they are ignorant. It is little wonder that the gainful labor of their children should seem to them a legitimate addition to the scanty income of the family; they are ignorant of the fact that, on the one hand, this unskilled and ineffective labor of the children is a potent factor in reducing the scale of wages for adults, and on the other hand, it seriously and permanently reduces the vitality and earning capacity of the child as it grows up. But while making these allowances the fact remains that the desire of the parent to secure at the earliest possible moment a money return for the labor of his child unites with the greed of the employer to produce, in many localities where child workers are employed, a strong political and social prejudice in favor of child labor, which must have its effect on enforcing officials. This has been notably the case in those rural sections of New York State where the canning industry is carried on. A few years ago the leaders of that industry in advocating an amendment of the child labor laws in their favor, openly stated that they did not need the amendment to escape the penalty for violating the act, as the public sentiment was so strong that no judgment could be obtained against them, but that they desired it because in case of serious injury to life or limb they could not avail themselves of the defense of contributory negligence if it was shown that they were violators of the law! Where such a state of public feeling exists the ordinary official (including justices of the peace, health officers, etc.) will, of course, ignore the provisions of a law which is distasteful to the men whose votes put him into office, and whose good will maintains him there. He needs no bribe, but in the expressive phrase of the common people, "He knows on which side his bread is buttered," and if he is not complacent he may be quite confident that not only will the slice of bread fall buttered side down, but also that the whole loaf will disappear.

Perhaps it is fair to say that this sinister force of greed would not and could not produce the disgusting callousness exhibited in such a statement as that quoted from the advocates of the canning industry in New York State, were it not for the

existence of the second force, that of uninformed opinion, including thereunder inertia and incorrect ideas as to child labor.

The window by which the writer is sitting looks out over a maze of New York streets. Two and a half centuries ago a brook babbled down the line of the street, then the early settlers drove their cattle along the bank, then the trail widened into a lane, and then a street. The brook long ago disappeared. Now the memory of it is almost gone, but the line remains, a highway of the great city. Somewhat such is the force of inertia. It is a far cry from Hogarth's prints of the idle and the industrious apprentices to a discussion of child labor, but after all, it is the force of inertia acting blindly along the lines of an ancient code of morality that has produced much of the present opposition on the part of many good people to the restriction of child labor. "Would you bring up a child in idleness?" they cry. "You are dooming him to destruction." It is vain to point out that restricting the gainful labor of children is not the equivalent of bringing them up in idleness, and that tenement house work for a child of five is not the same as apprenticing a lad of sixteen to a trade; the old stream once flowed down that course, and the feet of many generations have made a highway of it.

But it is not alone in regard to the supposed virtue of work for children that the crystallized wisdom of a past age operates. The ancient battle-fields of our race were those on which the inalienable rights of personal liberty and private property were won, and, in that long struggle in which they were achieved, lawyers and judges in England and America were among the stoutest of the combatants and the most honored of the victors. It has become a tradition of bench and bar that they are set for the defence of these precious privileges of free men, and the courts are standing for them yet, as witness the baker's case in the United States Supreme Court and the workmen's compensation case in New York. But times have changed since little Holland won her territory from the ocean and her liberty from Spain; since Cromwell's Ironsides validated the Bill of Rights with cannon, or since Fox and Erskine by golden speech demonstrated the freedom of speech. New occasions have taught new duties. Men and women organized in vast industrial armies are awaking not merely to individual freedom but to corporate consciousness,

and that means to a sense of corporate responsibility and the need for corporate righteousness. They are beginning to see that the doctrine of personal liberty does not justify industrial *felo de se* any more than it justifies suicide, and that the slaughter of the innocents is not excused by preserving freedom of contract. The industrial armies are beginning to perceive these things, but the courts are not; they are walking in the old paths and building the sepulchres of the prophets.

What shall be done then? Recall the judges and their opinions with them? Such are the measures loudly recommended by some strenuous advocates of judicial reform, but they scarcely commend themselves to those who think soberly. They savor too strongly of the drastic example which tradition ascribes to Alfred the Great; one of the oldest of English law books, the Mirror of Justices, tells us that Alfred hanged forty-four of his judges in one year for false judgments, but the method, though strenuous, does not appear to have been effective. The truth is that educational measures, not punitive measures, are what are needed. The judges, who have so often disappointed the hopes of reformers, are neither corrupt nor, according to their schooling, unintelligent. Of course, they must maintain the Constitution, it is a duty which they made oath to discharge when they assumed office. Of course, they are champions of personal liberty and the rights of private property; the Constitution guarantees these rights. But the facts which the judges have never been taught, and which the very aloofness of their position prevents them from learning quickly, are the social facts on which the great industrial armies base their demand for their bill of rights. The police power of the state is that which protects the health, the morals and the general welfare of the citizens. It can be exercised whenever, and only when, these objects—health, morals, general welfare—demand it, and when they do demand it it overrides the ordinary safeguards of personal and private rights. Now public health, public morals and public welfare all require the due restriction and regulation of child labor, but the facts which demonstrate the need are not within the knowledge of the judges for the most part, and their apparent hostility to many laws, which to those familiar with the facts seem reasonable and necessary, is due to this specific ignorance.

The problem, then, is the education of judges and other officials, by keeping them in touch with industrial conditions and great popular demands. Now while broad generalizations are always dangerous, it is, perhaps, not too much to say that the democratic genius of our law, as derived from England, has nowhere more strongly manifested itself than in importing into the determination of both civil and criminal cases the institution of the jury, that is to say, a number of men called from the general mass of the citizens—not selected like judges from the trained ranks of the lawyers—to whom the determination of the facts in issue are left. This institution of the jury is probably the most striking difference between the judicial system of England and the judicial systems of continental Europe, and while it is increasingly criticized for its cumbersomeness and dilatoriness, it has been not only the great conservator of liberty, but also the handmaid of democracy; and it is both interesting and significant to note that it is on the chancery or equity side of English jurisprudence, which most nearly approximates the continental system, that the alleged abuse of injunctions, so loudly complained of by the industrial workers, has arisen. If, then, the great need is the education of the judges as to social and economic facts, does it not seem reasonable that some method be devised by which these facts should be found by representatives of the workers, just as facts are found by a jury in a private controversy? If, for instance, the constitutionality of a statute purporting to regulate conditions in industrial or mercantile business is called in question, would it not be well that provision should be made that the facts as to conditions in the business affected should be found by a commission, drawn like a jury from the common people, before the court made an adjudication as to whether or not the police power of the state was properly invoked? Objection would doubtless be made to any such plan on the ground both of cumbersomeness and of expense, but, to the writer at least, it seems evident that such an objection is entirely outweighed by the more important considerations of the freedom conserved by the jury method, and the checking, through the recognition of the common people as factors in the judicial branch of the government, of the growing feeling of distrust on the part of the people everywhere towards the courts. There is no more

serious danger to free institutions than the growth of such distrust, based, as it is, on the feeling that judges and lawyers are a class apart and inimical to the poorer members of the body politic. Such class distinctions and feelings foster prejudice and misconception, arouse dormant passions, and tend to break up the very fabric of the State. However learned, wise and upright the judges may be, anything which tends to put them out of relation to their fellow citizens is a tendency in the wrong direction, and, on the other hand, anything which, like the jury system, tends to keep the common people in touch with the courts is a bond of social and political unity.

For the purpose, therefore, of conserving our institutions, no less than of securing the enforcement of adequate child labor laws, a campaign of education is necessary, and it is submitted that as far as the courts are concerned, the facts can best be ascertained and made effective through the agency of commissions (similar to juries in their constitution) which should be appointed in all cases where the constitutionality of such laws is called into question.

NEWSPAPERS AND CHILD LABOR.

ANNA ROCHESTER,
Special Agent, National Child Labor Committee.

When I was a school girl studying history with cheerful superficiality, it seemed to me that all the thrilling adventures in the world were past. The history of the race was practically finished; there were no more wars to be fought, no more problems to be worked out, for America was the land of the free and that settled it. It took the Boer War (the Spanish War was an opera bouffe that we at college did not attend) and the sight of an Englishwoman knitting socks for the soldiers and grumbling over the increase in her income tax, to teach me that bloodshed was still tolerated; and the coal strike of 1900, with the jump in the cost of coal and the insistent repetition of miners' demands, to bring home the fact that human relations were not adjusted. Possibly my teachers were exceptionally dead, but I fancy that my experience was not uncommon in that time, so remote to us now, before a social conscience was a part of every well-equipped personality; before the newspaper had replaced Homer as a textbook of the humanities, and the discovery of America still loomed larger than the discovery of graft in the government.

The increasing importance of the newspaper has been both cause and result, and it would be interesting to analyze the growth of the press and to draw a parallel between this modern scripture of humanity and the scriptures of religion. Both have their devoted readers, their implicit believers, their higher critics and, emphatically, their martyrs. If the parallel seems grotesque, irreverent, it is because the press has not yet completely realized its essential purpose, which is no less than a revelation to men of their neighbors, a bringing before our consciousness of the actions and strivings of others. From the notes about Si Perkins painting his old barn and the political squabble in the next district, to the news from Mexico and the latest dictum of Mr. Lovejoy,

it is enabling us to know our neighbors; it is weaving for us the fabric from which to fashion a spirit obedient to the second great commandment.

When newspapers fail, as their most ardent defenders must confess that they do sometimes fail, to reflect for us with equal fidelity the movements of society and social movements; if they tell us more about the idlers than the workers; if they seem to condone cash and conceal conditions, whose fault is it? Is it fair to lay the blame on the shoulders of the editor? Decidedly I would say, No. It is the public, ourselves, the lay readers, who set the tone of the press.

Let us go a step further and analyze this culpable public. I think we may fairly divide it into a majority (I forbear to say a vast majority) who are indifferent to social problems except in so far as they are themselves personally involved, and a minority who are alive to the problems and eager to aid in their solution. And it is the indifferent majority that sets the tone of the press until the minority becomes sufficiently eager and strenuous to convince the editor that they must be heard.

Friends, the newspapers are up to us. Already they are more and more alive to social questions, and willing to express the reformers' point of view. Take our own special problem. You rarely find a newspaper nowadays that defends child labor in the abstract. Where a paper takes what seems to us the wrong side, on some definite issue like the stage or street work, it will deplore the evils of "child labor" but will take pains to show how in this particular instance, this particular kind of child labor is a startlingly worthy exception. Or the exception will be geographical and you will find a Michigan paper vociferous in its condemnation against child labor in the cotton mills, while it ignores the fact that Michigan allows children of fourteen to work underground in the mines. Or a Georgia editor will expatiate on the horrors of tenement home work in New York and almost in the same breath defend the wholesomeness of cotton mills as an educational institution. But remember how easy it is for the best of us to interpret a social conscience as deep repentance for our neighbor's sins.

Again we must not blame our editors if they seem to spare the child labor employer in our town; we should blame our-

selves. We may be in a small minority, but so are the child labor employers. We may have little money and imagine we have no influence, but a really strenuous and persistent minority can make itself heard. We must educate our editors! Make them commit themselves on the principle of child labor, if they have not already done so. But first, we must be sure ourselves to know local conditions, for ignorant zeal is a boomerang. Then do something ourselves toward the enforcement of such child labor laws as we have, something to make news which cannot be ignored. It is worth while to remember, too, that editorial opposition is good publicity and may, who knows, convert the readers to our point of view!

But the majority of editors are with us and if we do not have their active support it is our own fault. One of our most successful publicists, Mr. Charles Stelzle, told me last month that editors of important papers all over the country are saying that they cannot get enough serious material on social questions. The sensational, emotional appeal is getting stale, and columns are open to reformers for a thoughtful presentation of their problems. The sentimental appeal is limited, it has been worn threadbare; facts are always fresh and convincing.

We of the National Child Labor Committee are doing what we can from the New York office. Every month and sometimes oftener we send out articles based on some new turn in the problem, reports of investigations or little miscellaneous items. But it is physically impossible for us in New York to treat of the local questions that are constantly arising in every community. We believe our work is valuable so far as it goes, but we sorely need your cooperation. You can handle local situations better than we can, and you can help us by preparing special articles for the larger papers that will not use a printed press service but wish exclusive material. We are unable to follow up the opportunities that come to us, for sheer lack of time to write the articles that might be used.

We need you, perhaps, more urgently during legislative campaigns. This year we have done press work from the New York office in five of the nine states whose legislatures have been in session. (Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York and South Carolina have handled their own material.) And yet campaign

work is not in the long run more important than the forming of public opinion between campaigns. The constant presentation of this or that; the line upon line, precept upon precept, when there is no immediate political issue involved, wins more substantial progress than the publicity of the hot campaign. Even as in the days of Elijah, the voice of the Lord is not in the whirlwind of a fight but in the still, small voice of quiet reading week by week.

In regard to enforcement, one might almost say that newspapers are really the deciding factor. For laws cannot be enforced without inspection, and the efficiency of the inspection and the willingness of employers to run the risk involved in violation, depend directly upon a live, insistent public opinion. And the test of a live public opinion is the press.

I fully realize that this is a sermon about the stay-at-homes addressed to those who have ventured out. But it is just possible that even some of you who care enough about child labor to travel to New Orleans to discuss it, have not used to its utmost this organ of publicity that we have in our daily press. Will you not return to your own state problems, your state child labor committees and your other organizations determined to secure from all of your ablest members their active cooperation in this part of our work?

COOPERATION OF THE SCHOOLS IN REDUCING CHILD LABOR.

FRANK M. LEAVITT,
President, National Vocational Guidance Association.

The time at my disposal is so brief and the topic is so large that I must ask you to permit me to make rather dogmatic statements and to believe that I could give abundant proof in illustrative facts and figures if there were opportunity. I must also ask you to reflect that my topic necessarily confines discussion to the more elementary educational institutions, and makes irrelevant any consideration of technical and professional schools, and also of the children in the lower schools who are surely and happily on their way to the higher institutions.

I wish to make three points:

1. That our public schools have too frequently contributed in no small degree to child labor.

2. That the most important educational advance during the past ten years has been the development of a strong sentiment in favor of more practical educational ideals, and more efficient school methods for the very children in whom the National Child Labor Committee is interested.

3. That we have now enough information and experience to enable the schools to adopt such a program that they will no longer contribute to child labor but will become one of the most potent factors in reducing it and in eliminating altogether some of its most harmful features.

Admitting that our free public school system is one of America's most beneficent institutions; agreeing heartily with Horace Mann's statement that, "In an age of inventions, the public school is the greatest invention of man"; appreciating that for thousands upon thousands of children it has given inspiration, developed ambitions, and furnished information and training leading to the satisfaction of such ambitions; yet I must insist that, for other

thousands of children, our schools are doing little except to induce them to escape at the earliest opportunity from the tortures of the school and to submit themselves to the more tolerable conditions of child labor.

What are some of the indications of the truth of this statement?

The facts regarding the elimination of children from the schools are too well known to need extended discussion. The United States Commissioner of Education tells us that 26 per cent. of all white children in the country get into the high school. Of the remaining 74 per cent. a large fraction do not go beyond the fifth grade. But this does not give me as much concern as the fact that the schools part with these children complacently—often gladly. They point with pride to the successful few and lose sight of the unprogressive many. They frequently pride themselves on their "high standards," which means the relentlessness with which they exclude from the benefits of public education the very children who most need our sympathetic care and attention.

Until very recently the schools have been apathetic toward all efforts to bring about a closer articulation with the humbler occupations of life and to modify their traditional attitude toward work and the potential worker. This attitude may be revealed by the oft repeated admonition to "study your books if you want to be something better than a farmer or laborer." I am convinced by years of experience, observation and study, that hordes of children leave school early and unnecessarily because of its uncongenial atmosphere; the lack of any important relation between school work and the child's social and economic environments; the unsympathetic attitude of teachers, many of whom are wholly out of touch with these conditions; and because of a general misconception of the primary purpose of public education.

On this point I would suggest that you read, in "McClure's Magazine" for April, 1913, an article by Helen M. Todd, a Chicago factory inspector, entitled "Why Children Work—The Children's Answer." In reply to Miss Todd's question, put individually to five hundred factory children, fourteen to sixteen years of age, as to whether they would rather be in school or in the factory if there were plenty of money in the family, 412 said they would

prefer the factory. The various reasons which they gave are most suggestive, but I can refer to only two: "You never understand what they *tells* you in school, but you can learn right off to *do things* in a factory." Another: "When you works a whole month at school, the teacher she gives you a card to take home, that says how you ain't any good." Who would not prefer to be in a place where successful effort is recognized and rewarded, even inadequately, than where the best work of which one is capable brings forth the invariable comment, "You ain't any good?"

Summing up my first point I would say that, while it is unwarrantable to assert that the public school is a failure, or that it is mainly responsible for child labor, it is nevertheless true that we permit far too many children to fail in the schools, thereby enhancing in the eyes of the children, every opportunity, or what appears to be an opportunity, offered by the child employing industries.

It is only when viewed against this somewhat somber background that the great educational advance of the past ten years becomes truly significant. Is it not something more than a coincidence that this period has also seen the birth and development of the National Child Labor Committee? While it must be admitted that the majority of schools have changed little during this time, there have sprung up in all parts of the country, both in the large industrial centers and in rural and township communities, progressive school systems which have greatly modified their attitude toward work and toward the potential working child. Briefly stated the fundamental philosophy of the movement is based on a frank recognition of the fact that the school has too frequently taught children how to fail, and has convinced them that "education" was something in which they could never have any possible interest because it bore no relation to any life of which they had any conception. It further recognizes that the chief duty of the public school is to develop in all children, especially in those who must soon face the problems of self-support, the habit of successful effort. The method is to provide something in which the children can progress and succeed, and for large numbers of the children in whom we are interested this something is frequently work.

We must distinguish clearly between work and labor and should see that by promoting child work we reduce child labor. It is recorded of the child Jesus that, at the age of twelve,—the entrance to that marvelous period of adolescence which educators are just coming dimly to understand,—it is recorded that the child said that he must be about his Father's business, foreshadowing that later utterance, "My Father worketh hitherto and I work." How slow the centuries have been to grasp the significance of that beautiful story! What the work is does not matter materially, but the desire to work is as universal in the normal, civilized child as is the desire to play. And I repeat, if we refuse the opportunity to work, we contribute to child labor and to what is perhaps even worse, child idleness. The schools are coming to see, as never before, the educational interdependence of play, study and work.

Another indication that the schools have changed greatly is their willingness to appeal to, and to satisfy, the vocational motive in high school work. While the high school enrollment has more than doubled in the ten years of which we are speaking, the percentage of high school pupils "preparing for college" has been reduced by more than fifty per cent. The reason is not hard to find. The high school is coming to recognize the right of pupils to receive training for the humbler vocations as well as for the professions, and so we find in many public high schools a great variety of practical subjects and even two-year vocational courses, sometimes open to children who have not regularly graduated from the elementary school.

I have spoken of this development of the high school instead of describing the various types of special vocational schools and classes recently developed, because this furnishes a more conclusive proof that our educational ideals are becoming more rational and more democratic. But I must at least mention the vocational and pre-vocational schools, the part-time courses, the continuation schools, the general industrial and trade schools which have come into existence within this ten-year period, and which show the trend of popular education.

I have left for special mention what is coming to be known as "vocational guidance." In brief it is a scheme to furnish the children with better occupational and educational advice and assistance by bringing together, in conscious, cooperative effort,

the school, the home, the work place, and any and all organizations which can supply accurate, concrete and pertinent information. Such work is offered in the school, and such plans are formulated as will interest the children, the parents, and the possible employers. These plans reach back into the school and forward into the early occupational experiences of the children when they finally take that important step from school to work.

There are several different schemes for vocational guidance, appropriate for different types of pupils from the college student down to the child who leaves school at fourteen years of age and from the fifth grade. The one which is most pertinent to our subject we may call employment supervision. Under this or some other name some progressive school systems are now keeping permanent cumulative records of all children between fourteen and sixteen who have gone to work. The position which the child takes, the hours and conditions of work, the pay and the progress are all matters of interest and of exact record.

In the process of issuing and transferring work certificates the school authorities have a unique opportunity to advise and guide the young worker. The work certificate is not the property of the child but of the school, and if the child leaves his place, or is discharged, the fact becomes known at once to the authorities, and the child comes again under their immediate charge. It is not long before the employers, children, and parents recognize the great value of having the municipal authority "back of" the child, to assist, hearten, admonish—if needs be to compel. Such practice as I have briefly outlined has had the following effects:

1. It has prevented many children from leaving school thoughtlessly and unnecessarily.
2. It has induced many to go to some special type of school appropriate to the case in hand.
3. It has greatly reduced "job hoboism."
4. It has induced some to continue their interest in formal education though engaged in work.
5. It has actually succeeded in modifying the conditions of work in some child-employing industries because the employers had to deal with the city and not with a helpless child, and also because the school, merely through giving advice, has succeeded in placing an embargo on the supply of child labor.

So much for what has been accomplished. In the remaining minutes I wish to suggest that the National Child Labor Committee might well seek, as a part of its great work, to influence every considerable school system in the country to do at least two things for our children; first, to throw open to unprogressive children who, at thirteen years of age are contemplating going to work as soon as possible, such of the present school activities as these children can engage in profitably. Nearly all of the manual training and the home-making courses come into this category. Second, that the school authorities establish a system of individual, cumulative records of all children at work between fourteen and sixteen or preferably eighteen. Where no compelling law exists even a voluntary registration of working children by school authorities would do unlimited good.

The crime of our public school system is that we lavish care on our pupils in direct proportion to the number of years they can stay in the school, and treat with especial consideration those who enter the professions. How careful we are to help the doctor, or lawyer, or teacher to understand the exact conditions under which he is to work! How solicitous that his first steps in his life work be carefully supervised by his training school! But how thoughtlessly we allow those at the other extreme to drift out of the care of the school authorities! Cumulative school and employment records for all children between fourteen and eighteen would cost comparatively little, yet would have a profound influence both upon the school and upon the child-employing industries. I hope I have made it clear that the school needs this influence quite as much as the industries. I trust you will see how slight a reed he leans on who says that "the best child labor law is a compulsory education law." We must teach the teachers about "the other child." Show them that with the other child the watchword must always be optimism and encouragement, and that the curriculum must be made more flexible. Show them that the first principle of education with the other child is to establish the habit of successful effort. Show them that the only way they can make "students" out of these children is to excite their curiosity about things, real things which they know and see the need of in their daily lives, and then show them how to do them. Show the teachers that they must fix

the vision of these other children on something less remote than "the completion of a good education," which for them generally means a long term of years in school and which is obviously impossible. Teach these teachers to concentrate on the successes of today.

> "Look well to this day, for it is life, the very life of life.
> In its brief course lie all the verities and realities of your existence; the bliss of growth, the glory of action, the splendor of beauty.
> For yesterday is but a dream and tomorrow is only a vision, but today well lived makes every yesterday a dream of happiness, and every tomorrow a vision of hope.
> Look well, therefore, to this day."

I am convinced that the influence of the National Child Labor Committee might well be lent to reducing not only the suffering of children in the factories and mills but also the suffering of children in the schools. Both ends will be furthered, I am sure, if the public school systems can be induced to assume this new function of giving vocational information and training and of exercising employment supervision for the benefit of "the other children."

HECKLING THE SCHOOLS.

EDWARD N. CLOPPER, PH.D.,
Secretary for the Northern States, National Child Labor Committee.

This title was suggested to me by our present social unrest and somewhat chronic disposition to complain. Of late years we have been prone to find fault with everything in general, until it would seem that our slogan ought to be, "Get the habit!" We heckle the church that a few years ago we held above reproach. We heckle the courts that until recently we looked upon in reverential awe. And now we heckle the schools. The purpose of this paper is to heckle the hecklers. I grant at the outset that there is ample justification for adverse criticism of the schools and that such criticism, when accompanied by constructive suggestions for improvement, is essential to progress. What I deplore is our tendency to jump from one extreme to the other as exemplified in the present day discussion of the school problem. The discussion is getting hysterical. Perhaps the inevitable reaction from hysteria helps to find the true balance, but there ought to be a more rational method of arriving at a proper solution.

The chief complaint about our schools is that they fail to prepare children to meet the great problem of life—how best to make a living. It is said they train their pupils only for the professions, ignoring the needs of all those who will never be connected with professional life. They say the curriculum is cultural and while it may have admirably served the needs of the past century, it is obsolete now and should be dominated instead by the industrial spirit. In other words, industrial training should be made the basis of instruction so that when a pupil leaves school he can enter industry, if not as a skilled worker, at least more competent for its service than is the case to-day. As the nineteenth century forced an allopathic dose of cultural education into the minds of all children whether they needed it or

not, so the twentieth century would administer industrial education to everybody regardless of individual temperament, talents, or previous conviction of fitness. The curriculum is to box the compass of educational effort by triumphantly including every degree of ability and disposition in the grand scheme of industrial training. The machinist who was obliged when a school boy to study the deliberations of the Annapolis Convention is now to have his counterpart (and incidentally his revenge) in the future poet who is to be forced to master the intricacies of mechanical drawing. The leap from the one extreme to the other is prodigious but critics have faith in the great American school system's ability to make it.

We hear of multitudes of children leaving the schools as soon as they reach the age of fourteen years because school is distasteful and offers no training for future careers. We jump to the conclusion that the schools are entirely responsible for this condition. It is not altogether true that the schools are to blame because children do not like them. Attendance is distasteful to some children simply because it is exacted of them. The law of most of our states says to boys and girls under fourteen years of age, "You must go to school," and "You must not go to work." And these children are true to the traditional perversity of the human family and therefore want to go to work and do not want to go to school. The parents of many of them make the serious mistake of humoring them in this attitude. The freedom of choice a child may exercise among the occupations open to him appeals to his sense of liberty far more than continuing in school where he has been obliged to attend for so many years. He welcomes the opportunity to free himself of this incubus.

The hecklers say industrial training on a broad scale in the schools will cure this by making the course interesting, profitable, and purposeful. Some even declare it is the panacea for all educational ills. The children are to love their teachers, become absorbed in school work, remain until they are graduated as proficient and substantial citizens and the country is therefore to enter upon a long season of unprecedented prosperity and happiness. It may be heresy upon my part, but I believe that unless there is a radical change in the normal temperament of childhood we may rest assured that even after industrial training has been

fully incorporated in the school curriculum and its novelty has worn off, these ungrateful children will very probably not like school any better because attendance will still be required. The only effort a child really enjoys is that which he puts forth spontaneously. Dislike of required work is characteristic of even some adults. Compulsory education is good discipline for boys and girls, and it is a foolish parent who succumbs to his child's indifference toward school merely because the child is so disposed. Human nature will remain unchanged, and normal children will continue to find discipline irksome even after vocational training ushers in the milennial dawn.

Contrary to the hecklers, all children who leave school at the age of fourteen years do not need industrial education. Some of them unquestionably do, but it is absurd to make the sweeping statement that all do. Many of them need the discipline the school affords, far more than anything else. Education is broader than mere instruction in either cultural or vocational subjects—it is also for the development and discipline of both the intellectual and moral faculties. Many accept this definition as applying only to college, but it applies fully as much to the elementary school. The building of character starts with life itself.

The wholesale dealers in adverse criticism like to hark back to the farm. They are fond of idealizing the conditions prevailing there. They sing of blue skies, gentle kine, meadow, forest, and brook, and by contrast they draw an odious picture of life in a city flat. They say the work on the farm is real industrial training under the best possible conditions while life in the city flat is a menace to the stability of our nation, and therefore the city child needs industrial training to insure the salvation of the race and its institutions. There is no question about the need for such education, but cannot there be good discipline in the flat as well as on the farm? In the last analysis does not the efficacy of discipline depend upon that indefinable personal influence of the parents themselves, and cannot character be developed by sensible guidance in the city as well as in the country? Certainly the very publicity of the city offers many advantages over the isolation of the country.

One of our prominent automobile manufacturers, when a

boy, worked with metals in a shop and regrets that all boys, carried on by the spirit of the schools, do not have the same experience. He declares that hand work "should be the basis that underlies their whole thinking," serenely unconscious of the sin he commits in thus summarily judging others by himself. The statement, so often heard, that present child life is abnormal whether in home or school, that every child should have a set of tools, and that all children should work in a factory part of the time, is absurd. The fact that our old, exclusively cultural curriculum was unsuited to all pupils is seized upon as an argument for the need of industrial training for all. Those who make such statements do not seem to realize that all children are not made upon the same pattern and what may answer for one will not answer for all. Children should not be plunged into one or another field of effort upon the recommendation of one or more persons whose judgment is quite possibly not altogether infallible. This assumption of the right to prescribe the destiny of a child is somewhat akin to the doctrine of infant damnation.

We frequently hear and read that children should be allowed to go to work before they are sixteen years old. The authors of such statements misunderstand the commonly accepted standard for child labor. In no state is sixteen years the age limit for ordinary forms of employment—fourteen years is the usual minimum. But there are very few occupations open to children between fourteen and sixteen years of age which offer desirable industrial training. Hence, if such training during this period is necessary for the proper education of children who are to follow industrial careers, the schools must provide it. And no one denies that the school should contribute more fully to the education of such children. Let us not make the mistake of insisting that all pupils take such courses merely because some really need them.

The proper function of vocational training, it seems to me, is to raise the child upon a platform from which he can view in perspective all lines of industrial, business and professional life, starting from where he stands at the threshold and stretching away into the future, each line revealing the possible development or blind alley character of the career it represents. Then let the child, when the proper time comes and with the advice

of his parents, exercise his own choice of occupation and let him make the leap without being pushed. The duty of the school in this vital matter is to show, not to shove.

Give the child a chance and then give him credit for taking advantage of his chance. Let us not decide for him ourselves, set him up on a pedestal, point at him the while we swell with selfish pride, and say, "See what we made!" This attitude is assumed by many institutions and child-welfare associations. They arrogantly appropriate to themselves the credit that rightfully belongs to the child for his own achievements. But in any case, let us guarantee the child at least fourteen years of childhood and let us have some confidence in our public schools, for there has been an awakening and they are actually adjusting themselves to our changed conditions. The process is slow but even in this we have cause for congratulation.

AGRICULTURAL WORK AND SCHOOL ATTENDANCE.

HARRY M. BREMER,
Special Agent, National Child Labor Committee.

Mention farm work to some people, and at once they see a lad in the President's chair. Mention President's chair, and they see a lad splitting rails. So constantly have these been associated in the minds of some people that they are obsessed with the delusion that all farm work is a highway to success. A more intimate knowledge of various kinds of farm work has dispelled this delusion from the minds of some. They see a distinction between farm work that calls with a thousand voices to the spirit of the boy, and farm work that stifles every prompting of that spirit.

Some farm work is done by the boy whose home is the farm, and some by the boy for whom the farm is only a temporary stopping place between intervals of varying length in the city. On the hop fields, on the fruit and vegetable farms, and at the canneries of many states are thousands of boys and girls for whom the farm is no royal road to distinction. Seven thousand children go out from Baltimore alone, to work on the neighboring farms, and from Philadelphia, Buffalo, and other of our large immigrant centers, other thousands are scattered for brief periods at so-called farming.

The country boy to whom our lawyers and bankers so proudly refer is quite a different lad from the city boy whom an Italian padrone or Polish row boss carries out to the country. The work of the country boy comprises all the activities of the farm. While he is doing his chores, he is learning not simply to hoe potatoes, milk the cow and chop wood, but to use his muscles and his mind. He is familiarizing himself with the principles and methods of farming. He learns the value of soils, and the reason for the rotation of crops. By doing things on his own initiative, he learns to think. For him the woods and fields are voices, each with a different and fascinating message, training his imagination and sharpening his wits. This boy can go to the city and fight his way to the top.

An entirely different kind of work is waiting for the boy imported to the country from the city alleys. We might call it factory work without the factory roof. It stimulates no mental reactions, and has no power to sharpen his wits. The endless repetition of a single task produces only mental stagnation. Especially is such monotonous work fatal to children whose eager natures crave sensation, who are ever on the lookout for surprises, and incessantly on a voyage of discovery. It is pick, pick, pick all day—strawberries in the morning and peas in the afternoon, with the only difference that one is red and the other is green. The varied activities of farming which add variety and excitement to the work of the farmer's son, and put the whistle into his day's work are not there. I suppose there is not a farmer who would not be willing that these boys should learn what they can of farming after the day's work is done, but the children are not superhuman.

One should also remember in distinguishing between the two boys, that the natural air of one is the farm, and of the other the city. The country boy may long for the time when he can go to the big city and make his fortune, but the city boy is there already. He has no corresponding tremors in his young breast to see the country. He hates it. It means work all day, or, if he happens to be one of the few fortunate ones not allowed to work, a long day with nothing to do. Some small boys were listlessly hanging around one of the most delightfully situated shanties I saw last spring on the strawberry fields of Maryland. On a hill in the woods, trees, birds, plenty of shade, and a good sized clearing in front of the shanty, it seemed an ideal place to have a good time. I asked the boys why they were not playing. "Aw, gee! dere ain't nuttin' to do here." "Do you like the city better?" "Sure, can have lots of fun in der streets. Play all kinds of games dere." And their dulled wits were not sharp enough to adapt street games to shady woods!

Quite different from the schooling of the real country boy is that of this imported lad. No school year is shortened and no curriculum adjusted for him except as he takes these matters into his own hands. He is enrolled in the city schools and should attend them through their entire session, starting when they start in the fall and continuing till the year closes in June. The

law requires that he do this. But in his case the need of industry for pickers, and the necessity of his parents to make a living —for it is the compelling argument of dire necessity and not as some think the avarice of the parents—nullify the law. Coincident with the first stirrings of the row boss to form his picking crew in the spring, the schools begin to lose pupils. Only a few scholars drop out at first—then they leave in increasing numbers till by the middle of May, when the streets are lined with wagons to carry the people over to the strawberry farms, whole classes have gone, and others are sadly depleted. What matter if six or eight weeks of the school term remain? What matter if the work the teacher thought to accomplish be only three-fifths completed? Who cares if these children lose so much of the instruction that they have to enter the same grade again in the fall when they return late from the tomato canneries? Surely if the people care more for the money to feed and clothe themselves than for the education of their children the loss is theirs. The necessities of life have always a prior claim to the culture of the mind.

Our latest figures showing the loss of schooling due to this agricultural work refer to the Baltimore children who picked strawberries last spring on the farms in Anne Arundel County, and who worked at the canneries in the fall. Altogether seven thousand children are concerned. The three public schools most heavily affected reported absences due solely to this work for 235 children. Absences during the term on account of sickness or truancy are not included. Out of the thirty-eight weeks of the year, two-fifths of these children lost between ten and twelve weeks, and five children lost between sixteen and eighteen weeks, or about one-half of the entire year. For eighty-two pupils it was possible to distinguish the losses in the spring from those in the fall. Eight children lost no time, but forty-six, more than half, lost four to six weeks, and twenty-three others lost six to eight weeks in the spring; while twenty-one lost more than four weeks, and twenty-six lost about eight weeks in the fall. When one remembers that each school term has only nineteen weeks the loss of six to eight of these is disastrous.

In the Polish parochial schools the situation is even more serious. These schools might as well close their doors the first of May. Two of the largest schools reported that of an enrollment,

one of 800 and the other 925, only one hundred children remained to complete the term. Whole classes went out, and others were so badly cut up they had to combine them to make satisfactory teaching units. In the fall, long after the one hundred who finished the spring term had returned to school, their classmates were peeling tomatoes in the country canneries. During September a few returned to school. In October the larger number came back, but the children were not all in their places until November was well advanced.

The fatal effect of this homeopathic treatment of the attendance on the morale of the school is readily imagined. Constant readjustments are necessary, and the final settling down to the year's work is not possible until about the middle of November. Even this is only temporary for the holidays introduce a fresh source of disturbance. Both of these Polish schools told me that, as a net result of the agricultural work, the children had really only six months of school—almost four months less than the law requires for residents of Baltimore City. Promotion gladdens only a few of the more intelligent of these children. For the others, there remains only the discouragement of going back to the grade they wearied of in the spring, and the humiliation of having those who once looked up to them consider them equals.

The same is true of the canneries of New York State. Buffalo, Rochester and Syracuse furnish the largest number of workers in these canneries. Here, too, those least able to afford this educational loss—our immigrant boys and girls—are made to suffer. In many cases boys and girls eleven, twelve, and thirteen years old lose anywhere from nine to thirteen weeks of schooling and become "repeaters."

That the situation has not changed since 1909 is shown by the report of the New York State Factory Investigating Commission on its investigation into the conditions prevailing at the canneries of that state. The Commission found that the foreign children of fifteen colonies left the city from one to twenty-five days before June 21st when school closed, and "that the foreigners of thirty-four out of forty colonies returned to the city from a few days to ninety-five days after school started, and that about half returned at least forty days late." In summing

up, the report states, "the schooling of the imported children suffers seriously, approximately half either falling behind their classes or being conditioned. This is only partly due to the children's work in the sheds, arising from the general fact that the children are out of the cities while school is in session, and do not attend school in the cannery towns."

The same condition holds for the Philadelphia children who pick berries on the New Jersey cranberry bogs. The schools of Philadelphia open the first week of September. I was on seven of these bogs the first three days of last October and found over two hundred children of school age at work. Some of these children would not return to the city for another week or more. If last year had been a good year, I should have found about twice as many children on these few bogs. The schools they should have attended in Philadelphia would have been under way four to six weeks before these children got to them. This, again, shows no change from year to year. In 1910 we made an investigation of the New Jersey situation. Our investigator "found 846 children between three and fourteen years of age at work picking cranberries on only seven bogs, four weeks after school had started in Philadelphia. At the time it was expected that picking would continue two weeks longer. Besides this many families intending to stay the full six weeks had been found three weeks before school closed picking strawberries in Delaware." Not content with the difficulty of overtaking the class by the late fall return, they suffer further handicap by failing to finish in the spring.

Our investigations wherever made have revealed the same conditions. Agricultural work for the city boy interferes with his attendance at city schools. Whether he be the tobacco boy of Kentucky or the strawberry boy of New Jersey and Maryland, the result is a sacrifice of much that would tend to develop his mind and make him an intelligent and efficient worker. It was not of such boys that Whittier wrote:

"Blessings on thee, little man,
Barefoot boy, with cheek of tan.
With thy turned-up pantaloons,
And thy merry whistled tunes;
With thy red lips, redder still
Kissed by strawberries on the hill."

The number of school days lost by these children at the end of the spring and at the beginning of the fall term does not finish the pitiable tale of loss. The teachers I saw in Baltimore had much more to say: "This boy could easily have finished the fourth grade." "It takes them two years to make one grade." "Had she entered in September she could easily have made fifth grade." When we search for the causes of retardation in our schools let us not fail to recognize in this a most potent one.

The solution of the problem is more difficult than its statement. It may be our task merely to point out the seriousness of the situation and leave the solution to those whose experience and position qualifies them to solve knotty educational problems. Remarkable progress has attended the effort to solve the problem of the country boy and his schooling. Agricultural courses in country schools, longer school terms, demonstration gardens in connection with the schools and agricultural high schools and colleges are working wonders. They are fast removing the stigma resting upon these schools as the laggards in our educational system.

This other problem is totally different and cannot be solved in this way. It is the problem of the city boy whose birth and interests claim him for the city. To shorten his school year to meet the requirements of his nomadic work would be a step backward—toward the very condition from which our agricultural schools are now emerging. It is perfectly possible, however, to think of organizing these children into classes wherever enough are at one camp to make it feasible, and of providing instruction of the grade and quality they receive in the city. The expense of the additional teachers should be borne by the state or the nation—certainly not by the local community. Not till the millenium can we hope that one community will undertake such expense for another to reap the profit. But the state whose welfare and progress depends on the intelligence and culture of the lowliest of her citizens can and should do this.

WHAT IS A CHILD WORTH?

JOSEPHINE E. ESCHENBRENNER,
Membership Secretary, National Child Labor Committee.

To the child labor employer, the value of the child lies in the immediate net profit his employment brings over that of the adult. The child is simply a producer, worth so much in dollars and cents, with no standard of value as a human being. This is not because the employer is cruel or even cold-blooded, but because business values are expressed in that way. Even the machine ranks above the child on the balance sheet, because wear and tear of the machine brings a loss, but the broken-down child can be replaced without extra expense. Only when the state requires the employer to observe its child labor law and fines him heavily for breaking it, does he awake to the fact that there is also a standard of value for the child as a child.

How do you calculate your standard of a child's value? Every one of you who has had a happy childhood and feels the loving glow of gratitude for those who made it so, values childhood as something precious beyond all money standard. You place the same valuation upon the childhood of the children you love. And to you comes the privilege and duty of helping to bring to those engrossed "in the ideals of the market place," a true valuation of *the other child*—of those other 2,000,000 children whose childhood is being consumed by toiling in the scores of occupations in which children are employed.

At what valuation would you have placed the childhood of Alma Whaley, for instance—one of these 2,000,000 children—a pale, emaciated fourteen-year-old girl in Tennessee, who took carbolic acid a little while ago because she wanted to rest, after having worked ten hours a day, in a cotton mill, for four years? Alma's mother was a widow with several small children, and when Alma was ten, her community offered the fatherless little girl nothing better than a ten-hour day in a cotton mill to help sup-

port the family, instead of supplying Alma with a scholarship, such as the child labor committees of Louisiana and some other states would have provided, to keep her at school and get a little chance for that opportunity which the handicapped child certainly needs as much as the one blest with the care of normal parents.

At what valuation would you place the childhood of little Giles, the seven-year-old cotton mill sweeper in Georgia, who one day was struck by a piece of falling machinery and, overcome with pain, fell over on the spinning frame, losing two of his fingers in the relentless machinery? Giles was one of four thousand children under sixteen who may work in Georgia's cotton mills eleven hours a day, and for whom, as recently as the summer of 1913, we were not able to secure a better child labor law because the profiting interests of the State of Georgia were stronger than the friends of the children.

At what valuation would you place the childhood of three-year-old Marietta, a tenement child worker, who by working from early morning till eight o'clock at night made 540 tiny forget-me-nots, putting three parts into each flower? To the manufacturer, a day of Marietta's childhood was worth five cents —at least that is the amount her mother was paid for her day's work.

Do you think it was worth an investment of $2,000 to bring about a law that saved, not only Marietta, but the children in 13,000 other tenement homes in New York, from the loss of play and schooling, and from competing with the wages of legitimate breadwinners in the factories? After nearly twenty years of effort on the part of different organizations in New York against the tenement sweatshop work by little children, the only response of the New York Legislature in 1911 was the appointment of a Factory Commission to investigate conditions of this industry, without special appropriation for the purpose. Then, when the prospect of securing any definite protection for these children seemed as remote as ever, the National Child Labor Committee, from its small treasury, devoted $2,000 to make a careful study of conditions and a telling exhibit of what was found. That study virtually formed the basis for the Factory Commission's victory in securing from the legislature in 1913 a law that pro-

hibits the work of all children under fourteen in tenement manufacture in New York State.

An expenditure of $560 by the National Committee, in making an investigation of the night messenger service in New York, showed such unspeakable moral dangers to the boys engaged in the service, that the legislature passed a law prohibiting this work to boys under twenty-one. Similar investigations have followed in other states, and seven have now passed laws with the same age limit.

It is not possible to even conjecture how much this expenditure of $560 by the National Child Labor Committee saved to the taxpayers of New York and, indeed, to the boys themselves, in fewer ruined lives to be cared for later by the community, and in opportunity for work that means advancement for the boys rather than submersion in the sordid phases of life.

A few years ago, it cost us $1,000 to send 1,500 cramped little boys from the dusty coal breakers out into the expanding influences of the bright atmosphere of the schoolhouse. Up to that time Pennsylvania had permitted her children to begin work when they claimed to be fourteen years of age, and our investigation showed that hundreds of families were perjuring themselves and sending even nine and ten-year-old boys to work. The law finally passed, requiring proof of age, included all employments; but if it had affected only the 1500 breaker boys, who could dispute the wisdom of spending less than seventy cents per boy to release them so that they might have more months or years of schooling and play?

It is true that the persevering campaign of public education, which we are continually waging, played no small part in these victories; but compared with the total gains for the children secured since the National Committee was organized in 1904, the total cost is likewise absurdly low. Every state in the Union has passed some law relating to child labor or compulsory school attendance in this decade, while the total cost has been $403,000 for the only national organization established to keep itself alert to the child labor needs of every community, make the scientific investigations, publish the conditions, arouse public opinion, the press and the pulpit, draft the bills, send representatives to the legislative hearings, work for the passage of these laws, and

keep its body of members throughout the country posted and ready for immediate action. The establishment of the Federal Children's Bureau by Act of Congress, must also be credited to this modest expenditure, for the Committee drafted the bill and led the six years' campaign which brought about its passage.

In doing this work as the agent of the American people, the National Child Labor Committee has been sustained by those who believe with it that this should not be primarily an artificial flower or cotton cloth or coal-producing nation, but the right kind of man and woman-producing nation. The number of those who have proved their belief with real pocketbook earnestness has grown in the ten years from 20 to 8,300, now contributing $60,800 a year in individual subscriptions varying from 5 cents to $5,000. The Committee's integrity and record, further recognized by the American Bar Association's endorsement of its draft for a uniform child labor law, have developed an increase of usefulness which has caused it to outgrow its present income. More than that, it has reached a crisis where, unless an income of $100,000 per year can be secured, much of the preparatory work will be lost, just as many a business venture has failed not because success was impossible, but because the supporters lacked staying qualities. Not one state has a complete child labor law; many are still sadly deficient in protecting the children. Georgia works orphans ten years old for eleven hours a day, in factories and mills. Pennsylvania and West Virginia work boys of fourteen all night long in their glass factories; the child workers in canneries, the night messengers and the street traders have been barely reached; proper enforcement of the laws must be secured, appropriate educational opportunities must be developed for the children. The American conscience has been aroused. Unless expressed now in the right kind of laws, the wave of interest will decline never again to be revived to the same degree.

To require the officers of the Committee to raise the additional $40,000 a year through personal solicitation is a short-sighted policy, involving not only a waste of money but a waste of energy which should be devoted to the actual work. Upon the American people, for whom it is acting as agent, the Committee would urge the same spirit that prompted the little boy in the

gallery to pelt the congregation below with horse chestnuts while he admonished the preacher, who in the midst of his sermon was disturbed by this act, "You 'tend to your preachin', Mister, I'll keep 'em awake."

The effort to preserve the treasure of childhood to the American working child, is no less the concern of the 88,241,522 American people who have not yet allied themselves to the National Child Labor Committee than it is of those who now make up its membership. Its associate ($2), contributing ($5), sustaining ($25) and donor ($100 or more) membership classes, give an opportunity for all to assist according to their means. For the sake of that child whose spirit you wish to broaden, or of that other child for whom you do not get the chance to do what you would like to do; for the sake of the privilege of education or the lack of opportunity that may have been yours—do your share, not only in contributing yourself, but in causing others to contribute, always remembering that "He who helps a child, helps humanity with a distinctness, with an immediateness which no other help given to human creatures in any other stage of their human life can possibly give again."

PRESENT NEEDS AND ACTIVITIES.

OWEN R. LOVEJOY,
General Secretary, National Child Labor Committee.

The activities of the National Child Labor Committee in recent months and at the present time lie chiefly along the following lines:

First, investigation. From the beginning it has been our settled policy not to discuss child labor conditions anywhere in this country without first having facts. Therefore we have continued during the present year, as in past years, to study at first hand the conditions that we are seeking to improve. We realize that a campaign of general condemnation will lead nowhere. Moreover, if there are industrial conditions in which children may properly be employed we ought to know; if there are concerns operating in states with poor laws where they might without any violation of law continue the exploitation of children but do not, we must know that. We must have the bright side as well as the dark.

Second, legislation. Every year before the legislatures meet we work out a legislative program. We learn from the local committees what legislation they think is needed. If we agree with their program, we try to cooperate with them. If they have no idea what is needed, we try to instruct them. If we are fearful that they will yield what little ground they have gained, we try quietly and patiently and effectively to oppose them. This winter, besides assisting in legislative campaigns in each of the nine states whose legislatures have been in session, we have been working for the Palmer-Owen bill now before Congress. This bill seeks to forbid interstate commerce in goods produced in mines or quarries where children under sixteen are employed; in factories, mills, canneries or workshops where children under fourteen are employed at any time, or children under sixteen are employed at night or more than eight hours a day. The bill

has been introduced in both houses. Just a week ago today, a hearing was given by the House Labor Committee, and we are told by a number of prominent members that there is very little doubt that the bill will pass the lower House at the present session. It has not been advanced far enough in the Senate to give us any knowledge as to its prospects there.

The third general branch of our work is the publicity and educational work. When the National Child Labor Committee was organized ten years ago, there was practically no child labor literature in America. There were a few short pamphlets, some addresses by Jane Addams, two or three addresses by Mrs. Kelley, and the publications of the National Consumers' League which were very largely devoted to this subject. But the publication department of the Consumers' League was not large at that time, and the material available for general educational work about child labor was slight. There is still no standard book on general child labor conditions in America, and there could be no such book because laws and conditions are too rapidly changing. But during these ten years the National Committee has developed a body of leaflets, pamphlets and periodical publications which reaches during the present year to something over four and a half million copies of printed matter. That seems like a great deal, but if you consider that at least half of the ninety million people in this country ought to know about child labor, and that the publications of the National Child Labor Committee are the one source of information attempting to cover all sides of the question, four and a half million copies appear inadequate. When I say this I want to give the widest possible credit to all the other organizations that cooperate with us in this work—the National Consumers' League, the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the American Federation of Labor—and the bulletins and articles published by them. But there is no way of keeping posted on the progress of the fight against child labor except by securing the publications of the Committee.

Our fourth general branch of the work is in cooperation with improvement of administration. This brings us in touch with the various factory inspectors, labor bureaus, health departments and other state authorities that are trying to improve labor conditions in the various states.

Finally we are building up a definite constituency through our contributing membership, which has grown in these ten years from fifty to over seventy-five hundred, scattered through all the states of the Union, and which ought to grow further until it includes a fair proportion of the ninety million people in this country.

Turning to our needs, I should say that chiefly we must have a wider diffusion of knowledge about child labor. We are constantly surprised by the ignorance of people who are generally intelligent upon our American affairs. The public has not yet awakened to the fact that child labor is an integral part of our American industrial system. Then we need better local organizations. Only a few of the thirty-five state committees have secretaries who give all their time to this work; most of them are served by volunteer workers who give such time as they can in justice to other obligations. Some of the committees are very weak, some of them are very good; we do not find in all of them genuine assistance in the development of our work, but we believe thoroughly in local organizations and want to see a strong local committee in every state in the Union. We need more investigators; we need more legislative workers. If we had twice as many people on our staff, we would not simply do twice as much work as we do, but more efficient work.

In order to do these various things we need more money. I hate to beg for money, because I consider it a disgrace that the American people need to have a Committee to tell them that they should abolish child labor, and the one aim of the Committee is to work itself out of a job. But meanwhile, the only possible way for us to do that for which we are organized is to have the means and the workers to cover the entire field along these various lines. If our activities were no longer restricted and limited by our needs, we could, I believe within the next ten years, wipe out this blot, child labor, from our American civilization.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE TENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON CHILD LABOR UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE.

New Orleans, La., March 15-18, 1914.

The first Annual Conference of this Committee was held in New York City, February 14 to 16, 1905. The second was held in Washington, December 8 to 10, 1905, with supplementary sessions in Philadelphia and Chicago; the third in Cincinnati, December, 1906; the fourth in Atlanta, April, 1908; the fifth in Chicago, January, 1909; the sixth in Boston, January, 1910; the seventh in Birmingham, March, 1911; the eight in Louisville, January, 1912, the ninth in Jacksonville, March 1913.

At the tenth Annual Conference, held in New Orleans, La., March 15-18, 1914, by invitation of the Louisiana Child Labor Committee, the following program was carried out:

GENERAL TOPIC: CHILD LABOR AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.

I. Sunday afternoon, March 15, 3.30 o'clock.

MASS MEETING IN LAFAYETTE SQUARE.

HON. SOLOMON WOLFF, Chairman, Louisiana Child Labor Committee, Presiding.

Invocation—HIS EMINENCE, JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS.

Addresses—HON. A. J. RICKS, Commissioner of Finance, New Orleans. DR. FELIX ADLER, Chairman National Child Labor Committee; GOVERNOR LUTHER E. HALL; JANE ADDAMS, Hull-House, Chicago; JUDGE JOSEPH A. MCCULLOUGH, Greenville, S. C.; ALEXANDER JOHNSON, New Jersey Training School for the Feeble-Minded; HIS GRACE, JAMES H. BLENK, Archbishop of New Orleans.

Music furnished by band of Jewish Orphans' Home.

Addresses on child labor were delivered by pastors and visiting delegates in various churches.

II. Monday morning, March 16th, 9.30 o'clock.

DR. SAMUEL MCCUNE LINDSAY, Chairman.

1. Organization and registration of delegates.
2. Review of Present Needs and Activities—OWEN R. LOVEJOY, General Secretary, National Child Labor Committee, New York.
3. Newspapers and Child Labor—ANNA ROCHESTER, Special Agent, National Child Labor Committee, New York.
4. Reports from State Committees.

III. Monday afternoon, March 16th, 2 o'clock.

DR. E. N. CLOPPER, Chairman.

1. European and American Methods of Training for Factory Inspectors—HERSCHEL H. JONES, Special Agent, National Child Labor Committee, New York.
2. Woman's Place in Law Enforcement—ANNA HERKNER, Assistant Chief, Maryland Bureau of Statistics and Information, Baltimore.
3. Enforcing Officials and the Courts—MORNAY WILLIAMS, Chairman, New York Child Labor Committee. (Read by title.)
4. Developments of Law Administration in the South—DR. W. H. OATES, Chief Factory Inspector of Alabama, Montgomery.
5. Eight-Hour Day for Children in Massachusetts Factories—RICHARD K. CONANT, Secretary, Massachusetts Child Labor Committee, Boston. (Read by title.)
6. Mississippi's Efforts for Law Enforcement—HON. JAS. R. McDOWELL, Member of Mississippi Child Labor Committee.
7. Neglected Childhood and Defectiveness. (Stereopticon)—ALEXANDER JOHNSON.

IV. Monday evening, March 16th, 8 o'clock.

DR. FELIX ADLER, Chairman.

1. The Abolition of Child Labor a National Duty—DR. FELIX ADLER.
2. Protection for American Children—MRS. FLORENCE KELLEY, Secretary, National Consumers' League, New York.
3. Law without Enforcement—DR. A. J. McKELWAY, Secretary for Southern States, National Child Labor Committee, Washington, D. C.
4. How Government Standards Stimulate Local Agencies—DR. SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY, Professor of Social Legislation, Columbia University.

V. Tuesday morning, March 17th, 9.30 o'clock.

DR. A. J. McKELWAY, Chairman.

1. Sixteen Years of Childhood for Ohio Girls—ELLA M. HAAS, State Factory Inspector, Dayton, Ohio.
2. The Twilight Zone Between Childhood and Youth—HARRY M. BREMER, Special Agent, National Child Labor Committee, New York.
3. Proper Issuance of Work Permits—GEORGE A. HALL, Secretary, New York Child Labor Committee. (Read by title.)
4. Child Labor in Street Trades—General Discussion.

VI. Tuesday afternoon, March 17th.

Luncheon by Era Club, Jewish Council of Women, and Women's Club to all speakers and delegates.

VII. Tuesday evening, March 17th, 8 o'clock.

DR. SAMUEL MCCUNE LINDSAY, Chairman.

1. High Cost of Child Labor (Stereopticon Lecture)—LEWIS W. HINE, Staff Photographer, National Child Labor Committee, New York.
2. Child Labor, a Menace—PAULINE M. NEWMAN, General Organizer, Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.
3. The Last Stand of the One Business which Opposes Child Labor Legislation in the South—WILEY H. SWIFT, Greensboro, N. C., Field Secretary, North and South Carolina Child Labor Committees.
4. Cutting Child Labor Out of the Vicious Circle—OWEN R. LOVEJOY.
5. What is a Child Worth?—JOSEPHINE J. ESCHENBRENNER, Membership Secretary, National Child Labor Committee, New York.
6. Night Messenger Service by Men, Not by Boys—HIS GRACE JAMES H. BLENK, Archbishop of New Orleans.

VIII. Wednesday morning, March 18th, 9.30 o'clock.

MISS JEAN M. GORDON, Chairman.

1. Tasks in the Tenements—LEWIS W. HINE, Special Agent, National Child Labor Committee, New York.
2. Ideal Child Labor in the Home—PROF. JESSIE P. RICH, Home Economics Department, University of Texas.
3. Child Labor Reform in Alabama—MRS. W. L. MURDOCH, Chairman, Alabama Child Labor Committee, Birmingham.
4. Child Labor Reform in Florida—J. C. PRIVETT, State Labor Inspector, Jacksonville, Florida.
5. Why It Is Hard to Get Child Labor Laws in the South—W. H. SWIFT.

IX. Wednesday afternoon, March 18th, 2 o'clock.

DR. EDWARD N. CLOPPER, Chairman.

1. Agricultural Labor and School Attendance—HARRY M. BREMER.
2. Heckling the Schools—DR. E. N. CLOPPER, Secretary for Northern States, National Child Labor Committee, New York.
3. Cooperation of the Schools in Reducing Child Labor—PROF. FRANK M. LEAVITT, University of Chicago, President of National Vocational Guidance Association.

X. Wednesday afternoon, March 18th, 2.30 o'clock.

CHILDREN'S MEETING.

Under direction of MRS. JOSEPH E. FRIEND, assisted by Miss L. S. Arnoult, Miss Ida Whitaker, Miss M. E. Finerty, Miss Mary Conway.

1. Hymn for the Working Children, by Fanny J. Crosby—First stanza. The audience.
2. The Story of the Medicine Bottle. (Illustrated with lantern slides showing child labor in the glass industry)—MASTER ROBERT ARMBRUSTER, Grade 8-A, McDonogh No. 17 School.
3. The Story of My Cotton Dress. (Illustrated with slides showing child labor in the cotton and tenement home industries)—MISS ALINE RICHTER, Grade 7-B, Girls' Branch, Jackson School.
4. Hymn for the Working Children—Second Stanza.
5. "Dolly Dear." (Illustrated with lantern slides of child labor in the doll industry in New York tenements)—MISS BLUMA COHEN, Grade 6-B, Robert C. Davey School.
6. Newsboys, a Colloquy, by Lydia Hale Crane.
   Newsboy..THEODORE DESFORGES
   Grandfather....LEWIS REYNAUD } of the Joseph A. Maybin
   Sam.....EDWARD HAYEM } School.
7. Mr. Coal's Story. (Illustrated with lantern slides of child labor in the coal industry.)—MASTER FERDINAND FALK, Grade 8-A, Live Oak School.
8. Hymn for the Working Children—Third Stanza.
9. Children Who Labor—Edison Moving Picture Film.

XI. Wednesday evening, March 18th, 8 o'clock.

Reception to delegates and visitors to the Conference by Era Club of New Orleans at Isaac Delgado Museum of Art.

Addresses—MRS. PERCY V. PENNYBACKER, President, General Federation of Women's Clubs, Austin, Texas; DR. SAMUEL MCCUNE LINDSAY, H. P. HANSON, JEAN GORDON, DR. A. J. MCKELWAY.

CONFERENCE NOTES.

The National Child Labor Committee prepared some special exhibits for this Conference, which were on exhibition in the Athenaeum. The exhibit was in charge of Lewis W. Hine, assisted by the members of the New Orleans Consumers' League.

The registration desk at the Athenaeum was in charge of Miss Josephine J. Eschenbrenner, Membership Secretary.

LOCAL COMMITTEES OF THE CONFERENCE.

Louisiana Child Labor Committee.

SOLOMON WOLFF, President

JEAN M. GORDON, Vice-President. PROF. C. C. HENSON, Secretary.

A. C. CARPENTER,
H. D. FRENCH,
W. O. HART,
MRS. MARTHA D. GOULD,
V. N. DASPIT,
MRS. I. I. LEMANN,
ELEANOR MCMAIN,
MRS. CORA G. MOSES,
C. H. PATTERSON,
W. B. THOMPSON,
REV. EDWARD L. ROMBOUTS.
ANNIE KENNEDY.

Finance Committee.

JEAN M. GORDON, Chairman.

MRS. I. I. LEMANN,
ELEANOR MCMAIN,
MRS. MARTHA D. GOULD,
SOLOMON WOLFF,
REV. EDWARD L. ROMBOUTS,
PROF. C. C. HENSON,
A. C. CARPENTER,

FIRST SESSION.

The conference opened on Sunday afternoon, March 15th, with a mass meeting in Lafayette Square. The chairman of the meeting, Hon. Solomon Wolff, President of the Louisiana Child Labor Committee, introduced His Eminence, James Cardinal Gibbons, who delivered the Invocation.*

Mr. Ricks, New Orleans Commissioner of Finance, then expressed Mayor Behrman's regret that he was prevented by illness from extending a personal welcome to the conference. Mr. Ricks said in part: "I am delighted to see such a large outpouring of our people on this occasion. Every heart goes out to this association. And I assure you on behalf of the citizens, whom on this occasion I have the honor to represent, that we are glad you are holding your conference in New Orleans. We extend to you a most hearty welcome and will do all in our power to forward your work."

The chairman read the following telegram from the Governor of Louisiana. "Being detained here (in Baton Rouge) by an important matter of public business which cannot be deferred, I shall not be able to attend the mass meeting on Sunday. Please express my sympathy with the purpose of the meeting and convey my regrets. (Signed) Luther E. Hall."

Mr. Wolff: "I think it is right and fair that a movement should be judged by its leaders; and I believe that you may search these United States in vain for men and women who excel in character and in ability those who are in the forefront of this child labor movement." Mr. Wolff then introduced as the speakers of the afternoon Dr. Felix Adler, chairman of the National Child Labor Com-

* Titles marked (*) refer to speeches printed in full elsewhere in this volume.

mittee, who spoke on "The Child Labor Movement: A Movement in the Interest of Civilization"*; Miss Jane Addams, a trustee of the National Child Labor Committee, who spoke on "The Need of a Constructive Appeal"*; Judge Joseph A. McCullough, chairman of the South Carolina Child Labor Committee, who gave "A Report from South Carolina"*; and His Grace James H. Blenk, Archbishop of New Orleans, who made a plea for more generous support of the National Child Labor Committee. (This has been incorporated with his address of Tuesday evening under the title, "The Child in the Street."*) The last speaker of the afternoon was Alexander Johnson who spoke on Child Labor and Race Decadence. (This has been incorporated with Mr. Johnson's address of Monday afternoon under the title, "Neglected Childhood and Defectiveness."*)

SECOND SESSION.

The second session was held Monday morning, March 16th, at the Athenaeum with Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay in the chair.

Mr. Lovejoy told of the "Present Needs and Activities"* of the National Child Labor Committee and Miss Anna Rochester, a special agent of the Committee, read a paper on "Newspapers and Child Labor."*

During the discussion which followed Dr. McKelway spoke of the great work for publicity that Mrs. Murdoch and Mr. Swift are doing in Alabama and North Carolina as an example for members of other state child labor committees to follow. Dr. McKelway brought out the important fact that the county weeklies of a state are read by more people that the city dailies and since they are generally glad to receive material they offer a promising field for spreading details concerning child labor. Mr. Swift told how his entering wedge for publicity in North Carolina had been a religious paper of which the editor was his friend. Following this two other religious papers took a stand against child labor and later the state papers began to be interested. Mr. Swift believed that in North Carolina so far as the country people were concerned, one page in a church paper was worth twenty in a newspaper. The Hon. Jas. R. McDowell suggested that it might be possible to arouse newspaper interest in one state over wrong conditions in a neighboring state and then gradually to shed light on one's own state. Mrs. Murdoch told how the Alabama Child Labor Committee had secured the interest of the Birmingham editors by vigorously following up a scathing editorial against Georgia which appeared in the *Age-Herald* after the defeat of the Georgia child labor bill.

Dr. Lindsay asked Mr. Lovejoy to take the chair and to call for the reports from the state delegates. Upon motion it was decided to hear first from the southern states.

ALABAMA.—Mrs. W. L. Murdoch of Birmingham, chairman of the Alabama Child Labor Committee, presented the report from Alabama.

"The child labor work in Alabama for the past year has been steadily growing; since our last meeting, an executive committee representing as far as possible the different sections of the state, has been formed with chief officers in Birmingham. The Committee has held only two meetings; one to consider

putting a trained investigator in the state, which was reluctantly given up owing to lack of funds; one to discuss the proposed new bill which the Committee hopes to introduce into the legislature of 1915.

"One of the large newspapers, a weekly as well as a daily, has been running a series of articles on child labor which, for the most part, were so excellent that the committee feels they must be far-reaching in results. The press of the whole state has been most cordial and all articles which the Committee send are printed in good places. It is necessary in most cases to write the articles, and this the Committee has found it difficult to find time to do.

"The main work undertaken by the Committee has been the placing in school of children under fourteen who for any reason had gone into industry. This has been accomplished in many cases by furnishing books, clothes, and shoes. In this the Committee received substantial help from the schools and from the Associated Charities. In many cases it was found that a personal visit to the homes of the children and an earnest talk with parents, to show them that the children could never be self-supporting and helpful to them unless given a useful education, resulted in a return to school. The Boys Club of Birmingham keeps a record of all boys applying for positions and reports to the Child Labor Committee. A visit of investigation follows and in this way many children are in school who would not otherwise have been there.

"The Committee feels that one of its best pieces of work was the observance of Child Labor Sunday. This was taken up in earnest. Articles were written for papers and personal letters were written to ministers throughout the state, and the response was gratifying.

"The greatest need of the Committee just now is funds with which to employ a trained worker to investigate conditions in all those forms of industry in the state not covered by law, and to report such investigations to the legislature. Since a legislative session comes only once in four years, it is necessary to make a Herculean effort for this one. A vigorous campaign of education must be undertaken all over the state. The chairman has reached and won the hearty support of several papers in the large cities but they all need to be reached. The Committee is now at work gaining the active support of one person in each county (there are 66) who will agree to handle the problem with his own representative in the legislature. At the last meeting of the Alabama Federation of Women's Clubs, it was agreed that the legislative section of that body should work directly with and under the supervision of the Child Labor Committee, thus giving the Committee the active support of this very large and well organized body.

"The heartiest cooperation exists between the schools and the Committee. The school nurses report children out of school to the Committee.

"The Committee feels, however, that the greatest hindrance to child labor reform, and the one most difficult to overcome, is the apathy of the educated but superficial thinker, who sees in the whole problem of child labor only economic necessity, and classes as sentiment the continued effort of the Committee to convince the people that a child must be given his birthright of playtime, education, and moral development. This will take time and repeated effort to overcome and will be the stumbling block in the way of advanced legislation.

"In spite of this, the Committee hopes to come to the National Child Labor Conference in 1915 to report a model law."

DELAWARE.—Miss Anna Bird of Wilmington reported the demise of the old Delaware Child Labor Committee and the establishment of an unpaid State Child Labor Commission. This Commission recommended the child labor law passed by the last legislature. It has now been made a permanent body to supervise enforcement of the law.

A written report was presented from Miss Emily P. Bissell, member of the Delaware Child Labor Commission, in which Miss Bissell said: "The Delaware Child Labor Commission is appointed by the Supreme Court of the State, and consists of eight persons, unsalaried, three from Wilmington, one from rural New Castle County, two from Kent County and two from Sussex County, thus covering the only large city and the counties of the small state. One member must be an employer of labor and one an employee. This Commission appoints all inspectors under the child labor law, and can remove them by a majority vote if their work is not satisfactory.

"The Commission has appointed two of its members, Mr. Jeremiah H. Coady and Miss Emily P. Bissell, a special committee to oversee, direct and instruct the present inspector, and receive weekly reports from him. Before this, the inspector has always been a political appointee, supervised by no one except the governor, to whom he rendered short and totally useless quarterly reports. The whole law has now been taken out of politics, and the inspector has to prove himself capable, industrious and fearless or lose his job. In two months—the law went into operation only in January—the inspector has registered and examined more children than any previous man has done in his whole two-year term. More significant still, the public schools of Wilmington have had a larger number of pupils, especially in the last month, than at any time in their history, showing that the children of school age have been put back into school.

"The school teachers furnish the inspector (by their own suggestion) with a list of every child in the schools known to be at any kind of work outside school hours. These lists are of great value in rounding up children under age who are serving milk at 5.30 in the morning or papers on routes at night.

"The Commission is just beginning. It can, therefore, report only beginnings. It welcomes any advice or suggestion gladly; and in this connection it desires to thank very warmly the Maryland Bureau of Labor Statistics and the National Child Labor Committee for much kind and valuable help."

Mr. Lovejoy referred to Delaware as furnishing an example of the kind of cooperation that should exist between State Committees and the National Committee. "We try wherever possible to do our work so quietly that it will hardly be known by the general public that we are working in the state. The present situation in Delaware is the practical outcome of an investigation made by Mr. Hine in Wilmington and the fruit-growing section of the state. We were in constant communication with Miss Bissell and the other members of the Commission when the Commission was appointed by the Governor. We advised them in working out their schedule for the official investigation they made, and responded to their requests for advice and help during the fight for the new law."

FLORIDA.—No members of the Florida Child Labor Committee were present to report on its activities, but the new child labor law secured last spring was discussed by Mr. J. C. Privett, the newly appointed State Labor Inspector of Florida. Mr. Privett said in part:

"At every session of the Florida legislature since 1901 an effort has been made to pass a good child labor law, but owing to the opposition of members of both houses from small towns and agricultural districts, who had no knowledge of the conditions of child labor, no such bill was passed until 1909. This act, which was pretty poor, was strengthened in 1911 but still brought no results because the county and police officers who had the enforcing power made no use of it. In 1913, after a letter canvass of the state to show the popular interest in the measure, the present law was passed improving the child labor regulations and providing for a State Labor Inspector. On January first this year I assumed the office by appointment from the Governor. During the first few weeks I gave street work and other occupations in Jacksonville my attention. Later I took up the smaller mills and factories in outlying districts. Only a few violations were found, chiefly in hours of work. Copies of the law were posted and in most cases on a second visit I found the law was being complied with. The law provides for the issuance of employment certificates after the school record and birth certificates have been signed by the teacher and parent but it does not designate what officer shall issue the certificate. In order to see that this important work was done, I provided the printed forms for the certificates and issued them myself. This has kept me in close touch with the children at work. Copies of the law (which also prohibits the employment of children under sixteen in certain dangerous employments, provides that chairs shall be given girls under sixteen and stipulates that the hours of work shall not exceed nine a day or fifty-four a week) have been posted in all places where children under sixteen are employed.

"Florida is not now a large manufacturing state but several large enterprises will soon come there, including two large cotton mills. In speaking to members of the Jacksonville Board of Trade I have made it plain that we do not want these mills if they come to Florida to evade the child labor laws of other states or to bring to our country districts the conditions that prevail in other cotton mill communities.

"My experience for the past few weeks and the conclusions I have drawn from addresses heard here on methods of law enforcement and the influence of enforcement on the welfare of the child, convince me that I have an important work before me. The Florida Federation of Women's Clubs and other organizations have promised me their cooperation, and the teachers and officers of the schools are giving their support to the enforcement of the law. The information I have obtained during this conference from experienced workers will be of great value to me, and I want to thank Secretary Lovejoy and Dr. McKelway for the good work done, in getting the present law on the statute books of Florida, and to assure them and the members of this conference that I will at all times welcome suggestions that will aid me in enforcing the law."

KENTUCKY.—Miss Madge Nave of the State Factory Inspection Department reviewed the terms of the child labor bill which was to come before the house

for final vote that morning. (A fuller discussion of Kentucky will be found in the report of the Ninth Session on page 192.)

Miss Gordon referred to the steadily increasing number of women factory inspectors. "I want to see all the women who are yearning to do something for humanity go into factory inspection work. There is no greater opportunity of service open to them today than this." Mrs. Murdoch asked what one should do in a state where the Governor refused to appoint a woman inspector, and Mrs. Kelley said, "Make it mandatory upon him to appoint one."

LOUISIANA.—In the absence of Hon. Solomon Wolff, president of the Louisiana Child Labor Committee, Miss Jean M. Gordon, the vice-president, reported for the Committee. "This has not been a legislative year with us, and in fact it has taken us the whole year to get over the frightful licking we got at our last legislature when they amended the law so that children could go on the stage again." Miss Gordon gave a spirited description of the legislative battle. She said the Committee meant to go before the legislature this spring on behalf of messengers and newsboys, to secure a twenty-one-year age limit for the night messenger service and some sort of restriction for street work in the daytime.

Mr. Lovejoy: "May I say by way of encouragement that the stage people who wanted child labor have confessed that it was the most expensive victory they had ever achieved, and since then they have not tried to repeal a single law regarding child labor on the stage in any state."

MISSISSIPPI.—The report from Mississippi was presented at a later session and will be found in the Proceedings on page 181.

NEW MEXICO.—Mrs. Kathryn Ray, chairman of the Department of Public Health of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, reported: "I understand that the reason no child labor law has been passed by our legislature is this same question of stage children. But we have a compulsory school law which reads 'That every child between the ages of six and fourteen must be present every day during the school term, unless excused by sickness'; and it is not a dead letter. Of course there are parts of New Mexico that are very thinly settled and where the law cannot be rigidly enforced, but the law is there, with a fine as a penalty for violation, and the spirit of our school officials, city and country alike, is for enforcement. We have one hundred and five thousand children in New Mexico and sixty-five thousand of them are enrolled in the public schools, with an average attendance of forty-five thousand. The school term, I believe, is in no case less than five months, even in rural communities. In the town schools it is eight or nine months.

"New Mexico is a union of the old world and the new, the oldest in America and the newest in America. And we have a body of club women in Colorado and New Mexico who are very earnestly striving for the very best in life for their children and for themselves. This year we have devoted to the study of child welfare and the subject has received wide publicity throughout the state. We are already preparing a bill to come before the next legislature for better registration of births and deaths, because we believe that is the first step in child welfare legislation. Whether a child labor law will also come before this next session I cannot tell, but I believe it will come soon. And when our agricultural possibilities are developed, and factories are built, and you people from other

states begin to come pouring in, we shall be ready for you with a good child labor law."

Mrs. Kelley asked whether there was now any child labor in New Mexico outside of the messenger service. Mrs. Ray spoke of newsboys in Russell and Albuquerque and children in traveling theatrical troupes, and Dr. Clopper referred to children in the coal mines of northern New Mexico.

MISSOURI.—Mr. Edwin R. Weeks of Kansas City, one of the Governor's delegates, referred to the fact that Missouri is not one of the black spots on the map in the National Child Labor Committee exhibit. "We have a law permitting widow's pensions; we have a compulsory education; we have a law limiting the ages and hours of work by children. And I believe one reason these laws have already been enacted in Missouri is simply that when the National Child Labor Committee came with its own special aim, much fundamental work had already been done by other humanitarian organizations, by women's clubs and by teachers' associations." Mr. Weeks also described the summer outings for children that have been carried on by the Humane Society of Kansas City. Mrs. Kelley commented: "This has a very practical bearing on one of the greatest difficulties that we in the North have had to struggle with for the last twenty years. It is constantly said that although it is reasonable to keep children out of factories and stores when they ought to be in school, it is much better to let them work in the summer than to have them in the street. Kansas City has given us an object lesson in the way of giving children, to keep them off the streets, something that is unquestionably better than working." Mr. Lovejoy referred to the legislative work of social organizations in Missouri as the best evidence of social welfare cooperation that he had seen in any state.

NORTH CAROLINA.—Mr. Wiley H. Swift of Greensboro, field secretary of the North Carolina Child Labor Committee, said: "North Carolina is something like the report that the Baptist preacher gave of his church. He said it was looking up, and another preacher, who was a little jealous of him, rose and said that of course it was looking up. It was lying flat on its back and couldn't look any other way.

"We have had no meeting of the legislature since the last conference of this Committee, but we have done some work in the meantime. Since 1907 we have had on our statute-books a thirteen-year age limit, but under a clause exempting apprentices all our manufacturers have been using the twelve-year age limit. Within the past year we have succeeded in making a good many of our people see that the legal age is thirteen and have induced some of our leading mill men to adopt it. I feel very sure that we have gained ground in the state and I believe the next Assembly will pass a better child labor law.

"We have a Department of Labor in our state but it has no more authority than an opossum. I do not doubt that it will be given authority by the next legislature and that we shall have inspectors under the Commissioner of Labor to enforce the law.

"There is a very general feeling that messenger boys should be regulated in our three or four large towns. And I have been a little surprised to find a strong feeling that there ought to be an eight-hour day for children. The working children in my state are in the habit of putting in eleven hours regularly,

but we think that is just the least bit long. And we are going to try to fix a fourteen-year age limit at this session. I do not go so far as to say it will be done; in fact, I think it will be very bitterly opposed, but the feeling in favor of it is growing all the time and at least we shall have a run for our money."

SOUTH CAROLINA.—Judge J. A. McCullough of Greenville, chairman of the South Carolina Labor Committee, presented a "Report from South Carolina."*

TEXAS.—The Hon. J. A. Starling, State Commissioner of Labor, reported: "Texas has the shortest and most meager child labor law in the United States. It provides that children under fifteen years of age shall not be employed in manufacturing or industrial enterprises where dangerous machinery is used; nor in places where goods are manufactured for immoral purposes; nor where their morals will be debased or health impaired. But so far as these provisions go I believe that conditions in Texas would compare favorably with any other state. We have eighteen cotton mills in Texas, of which I think thirteen were in operation last season, and I do not believe there was a child under fifteen in one of these mills. But this law is not enough and with the help of Dr. McKelway we prepared a bill which was presented at the last legislature. In general it followed the lines of the Uniform Child Labor Law drafted by the National Child Labor Committee but it was a compromise bill to some extent. This child labor bill and the fifty-four hour bill for women were opposed by one of the most powerful lobbies that ever came up to the legislature, but the child labor bill passed the house and I believe would have become law if we had not had such a short session. The bill will be presented again with numerous changes at the next legislature and I believe it will pass in its entirety.

"We have in Texas eight cities of approximately 600,000 inhabitants, and in those eight cities there are some fifteen hundred to seventeen hundred children whom our present law does not cover. There are the telegraph and telephone service, the messenger service, and bootblacks, and newsboys; we need a law far-reaching enough to cover all the street trades." Mrs. Kelley pointed out that the present law concerning dangerous machinery and dangers to morals would seem to apply chiefly to sawmills and the messenger service, and asked Mr. Starling concerning the enforcement of the law by his department in these two occupations. Mr. Starling said that they had only one inspector to cover all industries in the state; he did not remember how many saw mills had been inspected in 1913. He said no attempt had been made to apply the present law to the messenger service.

OTHER SOUTHERN STATES.—Dr. A. J. McKelway, southern secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, conpleted the review of the South by touching on those states from which no delegates had reported. MARYLAND. "Unfortunately there is a reaction from the pretty good law passed by the last legislature in Maryland, and the proprietor of the *Baltimore News* has succeeded in getting the present legislature to lower the age limit for newsboys from twelve to ten. I was going to make some political capital of the fact, because he is one of the leading Progressives, but a Democratic legislature passed the bill and a Republican governor signed it, so we cannot say it was a party measure. Also the county canners are trying to get rid of the twelve-year age limit for children in canneries. That has passed the house but we have some hope of killing it in the senate.

At the same time there have just been introduced some amendments strengthening the present law, but I fear there is little chance of their passage."† VIRGINIA. "Mrs. Kelley brought us news that the child labor bill has just been passed by the Virginia senate. Two years ago the same senate and the same committee turned down our bill and treated us most shabbily. This year they are two years nearer reelection and they passed the same bill by unanimous vote. The new law extends the fourteen-year age limit from factories to other occupations, and it takes up the newsboy and night messenger problems. TENNESSEE. "Since our conference at Jacksonville the Tennessee legislature has held a special session and amended the child labor law. A judge in Memphis had declared that the second section of the child labor law, providing that during the school term no children under fourteen years of age should be employed except in agriculture or domestic service was class legislation; if it was for the benefit of the child that the child should not be employed during the school term, we had no right to exempt anybody, and I believe his philosophy was sound. So in September we struck out those exemptions and brought the child labor law into line with the compulsory education law whaich had been extended last year to the entire state. We also secured in September a prohibition of night work and increased the number of factory inspectors from four to five." ARKANSAS. "A child labor bill following in general the terms of the Uniform Child Labor Law is being initiated in Arkansas by the State Federation of Labor. We are cooperating with them and hope to see it come before the voters next fall."

It was decided to send telegrams to the legislatures in Mississippi and Kentucky urging them to pass the factory inspection bill and the child labor bill respectively which were to come up for final vote that day.

THIRD SESSION.

The third session was held Monday afternoon at the Athenaeum with Dr. Edward N. Clopper, northern secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, in the chair. Before the addresses of the afternoon the remainder of the state reports were presented.

MICHIGAN.—Mr. Jesse B. Davis of Grand Rapids, secretary of the National Vocational Guidance Association, reported: "The Michigan laws provide for compulsory education to the age of sixteen, with the exception that to the children between fourteen and sixteen work permits may be granted, under certain conditions. Our industries are such that there is no very great demand for child labor; the furniture factories, for example, employ no children under sixteen. In the City of Grand Rapids there are less than five hundred children under sixteen years of age at work at all anywhere. My office has charge of the issuance of permits and we try to guide them into places where they may continue their education, so far as the Board of Education provides the kind of training that they desire or need. We do not find it difficult to obtain cooperation of employers in allowing them to receive a part-time education. In Grand Rapids the most

† The cannery amendment passed the senate but was vetoed by the Governor. The other amendments strengthening the present law failed of passage.

successful part-time work is in our continuation school of printing to which apprentices are sent for two half days each week. The apprenticeship system applying to mechanical trades and machine shop work does operate to a certain extent, but we have no school for machine apprentices. We need to develop more of the right kind of training for children who go to work under sixteen and we should amend our state law so as to keep them under supervision. The permits granted for employment are now subject to a report to the office every month, but that is not enough. And the report, according to the present law, is to be signed by the parent or guardian, which is very bad; it should be signed by the employer. There are some other flaws in our state law which we hope to have straightened out at the next session of the legislature."

The chairman read a telegram from the Grand Rapids Association of Commerce extending good wishes to the conference and inviting it to meet next year at Grand Rapids.

MINNESOTA.—Mrs. G. C. Higby of the Minnesota Child Labor Committee said: "I have been much disturbed by Mr. Lovejoy's vivid picture of the field of activities and the needs of the Child Labor Committees and I am wondering whether the Minnesota Committee is a liability or an asset. It was organized really as a precaution, for we have not supposed that we had a serious child labor problem in Minnesota, but it may be that our views are like the minister's who was referred to this morning. Minnesota has an able and active Department of Labor and Industry with a special Woman's and Children's Bureau within the State Department. There are six factory inspectors, I think, who are enforcing the laws and working to secure better labor laws for Minnesota. The State Child Labor Committee cooperates with the Bureau whenever necessary.

"We have now a child labor law that affords children the usual protection as to ages and hours. As yet we have no regulation of street trades, but we hope to have a good street trades law passed by the next legislature."

NEW JERSEY.—Mrs. Harold S. Buttenheim, chairman of the Legislative Department of the State Federation of Women's Clubs and member of the New Jersey Child Labor Committee, reported:

"I regret that there is not another representative from New Jersey who could tell you more about actual child labor conditions in our state. Legislation is the only part of the problem with which I have come in direct contact. As we all know, it is one thing to get laws on our statute books; it is another, and frequently a more difficult thing, to get them enforced.

"We have three bills before our New Jersey legislature at present, dealing with different phases of child labor. The first and second of these bills amend our present labor laws with reference to child labor in mercantile establishments and in mills and factories. These bills prohibit the employment of children under fourteen in any mercantile establishment during any hour of the day; the employment of children under fourteen in mills and factories, and the employment of children under sixteen in certain specified dangerous trades, or in any trade that may prove detrimental to the health and strength of a child of that age. Both bills provide for an eight-hour day, and both bills make violators of the law disorderly persons, and any place habitually employing children contrary to law, a disorderly house.

"The third bill amends the compulsory education law with reference to the issuing of age and schooling certificates and age and working certificates, making the school authorities responsible for the issuing of these papers, subject to the approval of the Department of Labor. It is hoped that these bills will pass without serious opposition or harmful amendments."†

MISSISSIPPI.—The report for Mississippi was included in the address of the Hon. Jas. R. McDowell of Jackson, a member of the Mississippi Child Labor Committee. Mr. McDowell said in part: "We have a bill pending, which passed the senate last week unanimously and which should reach the call today in the house, to create the office of state factory inspector.‡ We tried for it first about six years ago with our first child labor bill, but we soon found that if we attempted to create an office at that time, we should probably not succeed in passing the child labor law, because so many people are always suspicious that a job is being created for somebody. Since then, at every session, a bill has been introduced to establish the office. But there are in our state men known as the low pressure brigade, who oppose anything that carries an appropriation; and we cannot always blame them, for our people have been impoverished by the boll-weevil and by floods and one or two other disasters. And if men are lavish with the state's money, they will be unpopular at home. Now we have the bill drafted so that the factories which are registered will pay the cost of inspection. The manufacturers have supported this bill, I am frank to say, because the State Child Labor Committee agreed to lower the age limit for the eight-hour day from eighteen for girls to sixteen, and from sixteen for boys to fourteen. So now boys of fourteen and girls of sixteen will work ten hours. Since the eight-hour law for girls fourteen to eighteen and for boys twelve to sixteen was passed in 1912, the local authorities have failed to enforce the law. We believe that from now on the law, such as it is, will be enforced. I should note that this concession we made in the eight-hour law does not apply to the shrimp and oyster canneries, so that eight hours will still be the limit there for girls under eighteen and boys under sixteen.

"We hope at the next session or the session following to bring the eight-hour day back to apply to all boys under sixteen and to raise the working age of boys from twelve to fourteen. And we hope soon to insert a school attendance clause, so that before a child can be employed under a certain age he must have attended school for a given number of months during that year. That will take the place to some extent of compulsory education which, so far as Mississippi is concerned, is still some little distance off.

"We find it is difficult to bring the members of the legislature to understand child labor because they are not confronted with it. We have legislators from eighty counties and only a few of these counties have any child labor except in agricultural pursuits and then for a limited period in the year."

The report of Miss Ella M. Haas, a State Factory Inspector of Ohio, will

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†These bills have passed the New Jersey legislature with one objectionable amendment to the compulsory education law, exempting any child employed in outdoor work such as cranberry picking from the provisions regulating work out of school hours.

‡The bill passed the house and was signed by the Governor.

be found on page 103. The delegates from the twelve other states represented at the Conference did not report on local conditions.

The chairman regretted the absence of four speakers who had expected to address this session.

Mr. Herschel H. Jones, a special agent of the National Child Labor Committee who had been sent abroad last year by the New York Department of Labor to study foreign methods, was detained at Frankfort, Kentucky, to watch over the last stages of the pending child labor bill. A few paragraphs which he had prepared on European and American Methods of Training Factory Inspectors were read by the chairman. His paper on this subject is printed elsewhere in this volume.

Miss Anna Herkner, assistant chief of the Maryland Bureau of Statistics and Information, who was to speak on "Woman's Place in Law Enforcement"* was also prevented from leaving home by the critical condition of an important child labor measure then before the Maryland legislature. Her paper was read by title.

Mr. Mornay Williams, chairman of the New York Child Labor Committee, was also unable to be present, but his paper on "Enforcing Officials and the Courts,"* was read by title.

Hon. J. D. Beck of the Wisconsin Industrial Commission was prevented by illness from attending the conference. The chairman said: "It is a source of regret that we cannot hear from Mr. Beck, because we wanted him to tell us about the new Wisconsin idea, or the old idea revamped, whereby the State of Wisconsin inflicts severe punishment upon a few malefactors, and thereby succeeds in establishing a high standard of law observance."

Dr. W. H. Oates, State Factory Inspector of Alabama, spoke on the The Development of Law Administration in Alabama. In the discussion following Dr. Oates' address, Miss Pauline Newman questioned whether it was indifference of parents to the education of their children, or sheer necessity which drove the children to work. "I do not believe that the people who send their children to work do it because they want to. No mother will wake up her child at five o'clock in the morning unless she is forced to do it. And the sooner we realize this and try to raise the wages of the fathers, the sooner it will be possible to solve the problem of child labor." Miss Gordon said she had found a great many reasons why children are at work: indifference of the parents, anxiety of the children to leave school, and economic conditions also. "But one of the points that I found in the year that I spent investigating the homes of the working children when I could not enforce our first child labor law here in New Orleans was this: it was the habit of mind into which the community had fallen. The general opinion was that as soon as a child had been prepared for the next world by going through the catechism and taking his first communion, he was ready for the industrial world."

Mrs. Florence Kelley said in this connection: "I speak on the question of how far children work from sheer necessity. If they all did so, all these conferences would be evidence of misdirected energy on our part. If it is necessary for all the children who are at work to earn money, what are we here for? For thirty years I have been observing children who work, and for more than twenty

years I have been living so close to them that we rub elbows. I am convinced that the actual bread and butter, and rent and coal, and clothing necessity of the families, at least in New York and Chicago, where we have the greatest aggregation of poverty to be found in any two places in the western hemisphere, is a vanishingly small element in the children's employment.

"In large areas of industry parents are poor because children work. The little boy and girl compete against their elder brother and sister and against their father. We find elder brothers and sisters idle because younger ones can be hired more cheaply, and these younger ones by working, actually impoverish the rest of the family. Away back in the '80's, when the Massachusetts Department of Labor Statistics made its first investigation of wages in the textile industries, it showed that, where children worked, the total income of father and mother and children ordinarily did not exceed the earnings of the fathers alone who were employed in branches of industry in which children could not and did not compete.

"There is a vast absence of thought on the relation of the poverty of families to the labor of children. It is customary to stand the subject on its head and assume—not investigate but assume—that children work because the whole family must have the children's income.

"In New York for several years we have had scholarships for children to ease the hardship expected when our laws have been progressively made more rigid. New York has today, I believe, the most rigid and rigidly enforced child labor law to be found in any great city. A child must finish the work of six full years of the public school before going to work. It must prove by a birth certificate that it is fourteen years old and, by a careful medical examination made at the office of the board of health, that it is in sound physical condition and of the normal stature of a child of its age. This has been arrived at gradually. Every time the law has been made more rigid, there have been gruesome anticipations of cruel suffering, hunger, hardship, privation and death in families whose children could no longer work quite so early as before. But we have been amazed at the small number of families really needing these scholarships for the sake of physical efficiency. The annual amount has gradually risen to about twenty-seven hundred dollars needed to replace wages which children might have had, if the increases in drastic rigidity of the law had not been enacted. From one dollar and a half to three dollars a week are given according to the kind of work that the children were planning to go into. They get this for the weeks that they are required to stay in school after the fourteenth birthday by reason of the law.

"We have five million population in New York City, with a continuing inflow of excessively poor people from Russia and Italy. But the enforcement of the rigid child labor law does not make the difference between ability to maintain the family or suffering and destitution.

"On the contrary, we believe that every time children are subtracted from the competitors against their fathers and mothers, the level of poverty is raised and not lowered in the community."

Mrs. Murdoch referred emphatically to an appalling indifference to education as the chief cause of child labor, and to a compulsory school attendance law

as an imperative need in Alabama. Miss Ella M. Haas agreed that indifference to education was a serious factor in the problem and referred to the failure of parents to realize the importance to their children of the additional years of schooling provided by the new Ohio law, which requires school attendance of boys until they are fifteen and girls until they are sixteen years old. "With that, I believe the one thing that is needed most of all is the mother's pension, in order to care for the children who really must work to maintain the home. Ohio provided for mothers' pensions during the past year, but I am sorry to say that the law is weak in one point: it is left optional with the county commissioner to create a tax levy for the appropriation, but I feel sure that our legislators will amend this weak point at the next session. I know there are cases where the child has been compelled to go to work because the home needed its little earnings for its maintenance. I stand before you as a living example of that condition.

"We had no child labor law in my childhood and at thirteen I was compelled to go into the factory and go to work. And there I spent every day with never a holiday but the fourth of July when the factory was closed! From the age of thirteen for many years I went at the blow of the whistle, so I am not a novice, I am not a theorist. In those early years, with an invalid father to care for, it was absolutely necessary for the children to maintain the home or else be separated. We were determined not to be separated so we went to work. And one of the teachers in the school which I was attending at that time, when she learned that I was leaving school to go to work, came to my home and said to my mother, 'What can you do with that one dollar and fifty cents a week?' My mother said, 'It is to buy the meat and potatoes for the children; it is helping to keep bread on the table for the children.' But the teacher insisted, for she thought, as we were a German family, it was possibly the frugality of the German that was sending me to work. And my mother said with tears running down her face, 'If somebody could loan me one dollar and a half a week until she could finish her high school education, how gladly I could pay it back. We would not want anybody to give it to us; we would only ask them to loan it to us.'

"So I say that the State owes that to the mother who is compelled to send her child to work, and every state in the Union should make some provision of that type, because that child needs some advantage for the future, just as much as the child that has plenty."

The chairman introduced Mr. Alexander Johnson, of the New Jersey State Training School for the Feeble-Minded, who spoke on "Neglected Childhood and Defectiveness."*

FOURTH SESSION.

The fourth session, held at the Athenaeum Monday evening, March 16th, was devoted to addresses upon the Palmer-Owen child labor bill now pending in Congress. Dr. Felix Adler, chairman of the National Child Labor Committee, presided and delivered the first address, "The Abolition of Child Labor a National Duty."* Mrs. Florence Kelley spoke on "Protection for American Children"*;

Dr. A. J. McKelway on "Law Without Enforcement"*; and Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay on "The National Child Labor Committee and a Federal Law."*

A brief appeal for memberships in the National Child Labor Committee was made by Miss Gordon.

FIFTH SESSION.

The fifth session was held at the Athenaeum Tuesday morning, March 17th, The chairman, Dr. A. J. McKelway, suggested a toast for St. Patrick's Day: "May child labor be as rare in America as snakes in Ireland!"

Dr. McKelway read a telegram received from the Virginia Federation of Labor: "The child labor bill as introduced in the senate passed the house without amendment last night by unanimous vote. Ten-hour law governing women and children also passed. We appreciate your help and cooperation." He reported that the factory inspection bill in Mississippi had also passed.

Miss Ella Haas of Dayton, Ohio, spoke on "Sixteen Years of Childhood for Ohio Girls."*

Mr. Harry M. Bremer, a special agent of the National Child Labor Committee, discussed "The Twilight Zone between Childhood and Youth." Mr. Bremer deplored the low standards of honesty, and the low ideals of the children who are at work. He summed up the creed of many as follows: "You can do anything you want, if you don't get caught at it." Mr. Bremer questioned whether it was not the duty of the National Child Labor Committee which is pledged "To promote the welfare of society with respect to the employment of children in gainful occupations" to do something towards giving these children a truer viewpoint concerning life. "I do not mean that we could ever add to the physical and educational qualifications which we require before a child goes to work, an examination in social economy and conscience; but I do believe that while we are requiring a certain amount of school training we should see to it that the school courses are so arranged that the child shall be taught a true view of life. We are vocationalising our schools, and basing the changes on the idea that they must fit the children for living. But I believe there is a real danger in our efforts for vocational training lest we shall be content merely with fitting them to be workers, hands in the factory. They must learn to feel not that they are individuals bent only on improving themselves, but members of a group whose welfare and happiness depends on them."

Prof. Frank M. Leavitt of the University of Chicago did not agree with Mr. Bremer's fear that vocational training might be too vocational. He said in part: "No matter what the manufacturer wants, vocational education is coming mainly through the medium of the public schools, and the difficulty is in getting anything included that is *not* cultural according to our old definitions. Another thing, there is no vocational school anywhere in this country which even the manufacturer would approve unless the children on emerging from it knew more English, more mathematics, more science and more civics than they knew when they went into it.

"I agree that our children should be taught to have a certain point of view. We place far too much stress on entrance requirements; we ought to have exit

requirements. But as things are, what does a sixth or a seventh or an eighth grade education amount to? Here is our whole educational scheme running up to the university. A sixth grade education simply chops it off; it does not mark the completion of anything, it does not mean anything. But if we put in some exit requirements and say, 'If your education must terminate here, then it shall include something that will help you succeed in your work and it shall taper off gradually into your work,' then we have begun to give a vocational education.

"Vocational education is not fitting people for jobs; it is teaching them to be happy and contented though not President of the United States. It is turning upside down the old kind of training that kept telling its pupils there was plenty of room at the top, and saying there is plenty of room at the bottom and plenty of room half-way up. Did you ever see a top that did not have a bottom? And it is with those at the bottom that vocational education is chiefly concerned. But our school boards will not let us have anything very vocational; we need not worry about that."

Miss Rochester protested that instead of accepting the fact that there is plenty of room at the top and very little at the bottom, we should also work to get rid of top and bottom.

Mr. Lovejoy said: "That is just the trouble. But I think the program of Mr. Leavitt and his associates is one of the most valuable features of our educational reconstruction. When I attended the organization meeting of the National Vocational Guidance Association a few month ago, I was very glad to see the word education emphasized rather than guidance, for as a matter of fact we are not ready in this country yet to guide children into vocations. We know too little about them; and with our present industrial organization there are too few vocations and too many jobs. There are a great many places where all there is to do is to work hard and get as little as possible for it, either in money or in development; and too few where the worker gets out of it not merely his wages, but some inspiration, some personal growth. And I believe our educators should bend their energies toward developing more of that kind of vocational opportunity for our youth."

Miss Newman spoke briefly of the intense interest in vocational education shown by the trade union movement and said she was glad that President Wilson had appointed a working woman, Miss Agnes Nestor, a member of the new Federal Commission on Vocational Education. She said further: "But as to the Child Labor Committee, I believe it is doing just the right thing now to take out from industry the children who are under age, as the first step, and then afterwards to decide the vocational question."

Mr. Swift said: "Mr. Bremer is a little fearful that our educational training may not run just right and fail to give all we expect of it. But I believe we shall get a great deal out of it whatever may be the intention at the start. Even if we should base our educational training on the simple ground of preparing our boys and girls to make more money, to be a higher class of workmen, the ultimate result would be a higher class of citizens. And the fact is that in a very large section of our country about the only appeal that you can make to the educational forces and the political forces, which interlock with the educational forces, is that such training will enable the government and the state to make

more money. In my own state we have recently gone forward in agriculture. While we have based our appeal on the ground that if we could teach the farmers how to farm better, they would make more money and the state would be richer and would get more taxes, the result is that we have very materially strengthened our citizenship. And you can not teach a crowd of boys and girls to do things, without bringing out a stronger set of men and women. I think the thing for us to do is to take the one avenue of approach and follow it religiously, conscious that the final result will be a citizenship stronger in every respect."

Dr. McKelway told of the experience of the Children's Council, a voluntary organization in the city of Washington. "We got the superintendent of schools to direct the teachers to send us the names of all the children who left school at the fourteenth year; and we followed up the children in their homes and tried to get them back into school. We succeeded in getting over fifty per cent. of these children who had left school for some dissatisfaction or other, to go back to school and finish their education. We also investigated a number of industries in which school children were engaged in Washington, to find out which were worth while and which were blind alley occupations; and with that we went to the parents and said, 'Don't allow Johnnie to become a night messenger boy,' or 'Don't let this little girl do such and such work. There is no outlet there; the wages will always be low.' And we are able to direct into a little more profitable work the children who did not return to school. I believe that quite an interest in this whole matter has been created in Washington through this little committee of the Children's Council and as a result some plan may be devised by Congress for vocational education in the Washington schools."

Mr. George A. Hall, secretary of the New York Child Labor Committee, was prevented by the legislative situation in that state from attending the conference; his paper on "The Proper Issuance of Work Permits"* was read by title.

The chairman asked Dr. Edward N. Clopper to lead a discussion of street trades. His contribution to that discussion appears under the title "Why Overlook the Street Worker?"*

Mr. Davis asked Dr. Clopper whether he could suggest any constructive work to take the place of street trades in occupying children's time after school hours. "In connection with the juvenile court work in which I am engaged as educational counsel, we have boys sent to us with the recommendation of the judge that we find something for the boy to do to keep him out of temptation. We have playgrounds which are somewhat supervised, but we cannot compel them to go there if they do not wish to. Our schools are out at an early hour and they have little or no home influences."

Dr. Clopper said: "I do not think that we ought to keep open one line of industry, while we are prohibiting all other lines, simply for the sake of keeping such children busy." Dr. Clopper referred again to the findings of the government report on juvenile delinquency, which showed that of all delinquent children coming before the courts which were studied, the working children contributed a larger number and a far greater proportion than the non-working children to the group of delinquent children in the United States. "I do think that one very valuable thing that we could do would be to lengthen the school day. I think it is very foolish of us to maintain an expensive educational system and let the

children out after a very short attendance, for only a few days of the week and a few months of the year. If we are going to train our children for that broader field we have been discussing this morning, we have got to lengthen our school day, we have got to make the whole course of instruction more attractive, we have got to reduce the number of pupils which each teacher has under her charge, and above all we have got to get the right kind of teacher. It seems to me that when we have done these things, and have provided through the schools these different avenues of activity for the children, we shall have done considerable toward solving these problems that we are concerned with here. We shall not have to try to keep the children busy, because they will keep themselves busy under such an arrangement. My answer to Mr. Davis' question would be a plea for a higher standard in the personnel, and in order to make this possible increased school appropriations." Miss Haas urged the importance of increasing teachers' salaries in order that they might more easily present an attractive appearance in the class room.

Mr. Weeks and Dr. McKelway referred to the importance of developing supervised play. Dr. McKelway said: "To my mind the root of the evil is our commercialized recreation. Giving recreation to the child is just as important a function of the State as giving education to the child, and I believe that until our legislators wake up to this fact we shall not solve the problem of what to do with the boy who is inclined to go wrong. Miss Jane Addams tells an interesting story of their experience with the playground system in Chicago. The taxpayers thought it was going to put a pretty heavy burden upon them to establish recreation centers in the congested quarters of that city. They had to tear down buildings sometimes and turn a block into a playground. But they actually found that the expense of the courts was so much less, through those sections of the city where the playgrounds had been established, that it was more profitable for the taxpayers to tax themselves for recreation centers than to pay for the punishment of crime. They found that the leaders of the street gangs became the captains of baseball teams and captains of football teams. It was an absolute demonstration of the economy of directing the boys' exuberant energy in the right way."

A delegate asked whether in framing a law to cover street trades it was best to make a distinction between small towns and large cities. Dr. Clopper said: "That depends a good deal on the character of the villages. There are some small communities devoted to certain forms of industry whose streets are very questionable fields for children's work. But you cannot very well legislate for individual cases of that kind unless you follow the English system. Parliament has passed a law which sets a minimum for the entire United Kingdom and leaves the local authorities free to add to those restrictions as they see fit to meet their local needs. Some such system as that might operate well in this country. But ordinarily in our states thus far the street trades law applies only to cities over a certain population, usually those of the first, second and third classes."

Mr. Krikos, a Greek who is devoting his time to social work, spoke briefly of the bootblack padrone problem which he believes from his knowledge of his own people in this country to be now fairly well under control.

The chairman read a telegram of good wishes from the San Francisco Child Labor Committee in which the Committee urged the conference to meet in that city in 1915. The San Francisco Committee "strongly approves bill before Congress placing child labor products under interstate commerce regulations."

SIXTH SESSION.

On Tuesday, March 17th, a luncheon in the Cave of the Grunewald Hotel was given to the delegates by the Era Club, the Jewish Council of Women and the Woman's Club of New Orleans. Miss Jean Gordon presided and several informal addresses were delivered by New Orleans people and out-of-town delegates.

SEVENTH SESSION.

The seventh session was held at the Athenaeum Tuesday evening, Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay presiding. Addresses were made by Lewis W. Hine, special agent of the National Child Labor Committee, on "The High Cost of Child Labor"*; Wiley H. Swift on "The Last Excuse of the One Business which Opposes Child Labor Legislation in the South"*; Owen R. Lovejoy on "Cutting Child Labor Out of the Vicious Circle"*; Josephine J. Eschenbrenner, membership secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, on "What is a Child Worth?"*; and His Grace James H. Blenk, Archbishop of New Orleans, on "Night Messenger Service by Men, Not by Boys." (Archbishop Blenk's address has been combined with his address at the first session under the title "The Child in the Street."*)

EIGHTH SESSION.

The eighth session was held at the Athenaeum Wednesday morning, March 18th, Miss Jean Gordon presiding.

After the paper by Lewis W. Hine on "Tasks in the Tenements"* there was some discussion of a recent news item announcing that a hosiery mill owner in North Carolina intended to install knitting machines in the homes of his village. Reference was made to certain forms of home work found outside of New York City, especially the weaving of cotton cloth in Philadelphia dwellings and the manufacture of high grade tooth-brushes in homes in Massachusetts towns. Dr. Lindsay moved that Dr. McKelway and Mr. Swift be asked to formulate a statement concerning the North Carolina proposal.

Prof. Jessie P. Rich, of the Home Economics Department of the University of Texas, then spoke on "Ideal Child Labor in the Home,"* and Mrs. W. L. Murdoch on "Child Labor Reform in Alabama."* Mrs. Murdoch's reference to the sixteen-year age limit in mines which has been adopted by the Alabama coal operators led to a question as to the part played in child labor reform by the labor unions. Mr. Lovejoy referred to the efforts initiated about seventy-five years ago by the textile workers of Massachusetts to fix limitations of ages and hours and to require educational qualifications before a child could work in the mills. A bill was introduced year after year and not until 1874 was the first child labor

law of any substantial importance passed in Massachusetts. Dr. Lindsay referred to still earlier efforts by textile workers in Pennsylvania which did not result in any legislative action. In this discussion of beginnings Mr. Weeks spoke of the work of the humane societies and Mrs. Murdoch referred to the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Those who are interested in the earlier movements were advised to read "The Beginnings of Child Labor Legislation in Certain States," being volume six of the Report on the Condition of the Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the United States published by the United States Bureau of Labor in 1910. Another delegate referred to John Mitchell's book on "Organized Labor."

The chairman introduced the Rev. Mr. Reese, Chaplain of the Federation of Labor in New Orleans, who spoke briefly of the Federation's active interest in child labor legislation and the movement to establish playgrounds. Mr. Reese laid a large part of the blame for child labor on our policy of unrestricted immigration; he also referred to the fact that in the South colored children are being educated while white children are at work.

Mr. J. C. Privett, State Labor Inspector of Florida, was then introduced and his address on conditions in Florida is printed in part among the state reports on page 175. Miss Gordon congratulated Mr. Privett on having the cooperation of the women's clubs of Jacksonville. "There is no better scarecrow to the manufacturers than the thought that all the women's clubs in the city are watching them."

After Mr. Swift's address on "Why it is Hard to Get Child Labor Laws in the South,"* Miss Rochester said, "It seems to me that Mr. Swift's reason why it is hard to get better laws in the South is the reason why we do not have better laws all over the country. But I do not know that I agree with him in putting the blame on the very rich man, for I believe it is equally the fault of us middle-class people who accept it as a final proposition that our children need more education than those who are definitely of the working class. We feel we have done a great deal when we fix a fourteen-year limit for the workingman's children but we are horrified if a child of our own class has to go to work at fourteen; we feel that the future of the family is at stake. Are we inherently so much better than the others? As Mr. Swift has said the differences are largely a matter of opportunity and every last person in the world ought to have a chance to acquire education and the intangible things that we call culture."

Prof. Leavitt reminded the conference of President Gompers' statement that in 1827 a gathering of working people in New York City made a demand that the children born in the United States should receive an education up to sixteen years of age and should be supported in comfort during that time. Miss Gordon said: "I have always contended that one reason it is so difficult to get good child labor laws is that so few people have any power of imagination. They have got to see these things. If I could only rouse the city of New Orleans and take the women down with me to the corner of Canal and Decatur Streets between half past six and a quarter to seven in the morning and let them see that army of little girls, with their short dresses and their hair in pig-tails, scurrying along to the different factories where they will be already at their work at seven o'clock, when most of our legislators and the people who make the laws are just

beginning to think about getting up; and again when they are coming out at six o'clock in the evening and hurrying back to their homes—those homes that are supposed to have such a great influence over them, the mother's influence, you know, which they hardly ever get a touch of—I have always felt that if I could once take our men and women down to see these boys and girls of fourteen and fifteen going out from their homes and away from anything like schooling, it would make their blood boil as mine has boiled for years."

Mrs. Murdoch thought that in Alabama one of the chief obstacles in the way of better laws was the false idea, still persisting in many places, even among social workers, that it was a real kindness to the children to give them employment not in the cotton mills, for people are pretty generally beginning to realize that that is bad, but in the department stores. "I well remember at the first conference of the Child Labor Committee that I ever attended, hearing Mrs. Florence Kelley, who always stands as the law and the gospel to me, say that when you buy your newspaper from a tiny little boy on the street corner, you are helping to perpetuate child labor. That came home to me because I had always had the sentimental viewpoint that I must seek out the tiniest newsboy, and be waited on in the department store by the most helpless, infirm little girl. In the city of Birmingham more children are employed in the department stores than in the largest mill we ever had, and there is absolutely no regulation of hours. We must arouse the women who shop in the stores to a sense of personal responsibility for these things."

Miss Haas told of the campaign for early closing in Dayton. "The merchants protested that some people had to do their shopping in the evening. But we told them that when a circus comes to town, men with their whole families would sit on the steps of the courthouse for hours during the daytime to wait for the parade to pass. And if they can do this during the daytime they can go shopping. Now we have the early closing and today the managers of the five and ten cent stores say they are selling more goods than they ever sold before." Miss Haas spoke of the women's clubs as the best means of reaching the shoppers.

Mr. O'Hara of the Typographical Union spoke for organized labor as a most powerful agency for getting things done. "I have heard it said that women, society people, are spasmodic. Of course I don't know much about them myself, but I imagine that once in a while they will get a great enthusiasm and then they will fall flat and nothing more will be heard from them until another agitation is aroused. But organized labor's interests are constant and their activities must be constant in order to hold their organizations together."

NINTH SESSION.

The ninth session was held Wednesday afternoon, March 18th, at the Athenaeum, Dr. Clopper presiding.

The first address of the afternoon was delivered by Mr. Harry M. Bremer on "Agricultural Labor and School Attendance."* Miss Gordon asked for the opinion of the conference on the proposal to rearrange the school terms in Lou-

isiana to enable the children to work in the cotton fields without interfering with school attendance. Mr. H. P. Hanson, secretary of the Southern Conference on Woman and Child Labor, believed that it would be very desirable to adjust the school year to farming conditions, provided the rural schools were open for two terms amounting to eight months altogether. Dr. Clopper said: "A short time ago I made a study of the tobacco industry in Kentucky and I found that the school term was adjusted partly to allow children to help with the tobacco crop and partly to avoid the season when the roads were almost impassable. The schools would open in July and run for about six months. But even after the schools had opened in July the children were kept busy; there were worms to be picked from the tobacco plants during July and August and even in September; and a little later the crop had to be cut and housed in the barns and the plants had to be hung from the rafters to cure; and then in October and November when the tobacco was sufficiently moist, the leaf had to be stripped from these stalks in the barn and prepared for the warehouse. In all these processes the children's labor was used, and there was a general spirit of indifference to education, and interest in the conservation of the tobacco crop rather than the welfare of the children. Many of the children did not begin their school work until November and attended only a few weeks each year."

The chairman then asked Mr. Herschel H. Jones to tell of his experience in the Kentucky campaign. Mr. Jones is a special agent of the National Child Labor Committee who had just arrived from Frankfort where he secured the passage of the new Kentucky law to which the chairman referred as one of the best in the country and the very best in its regulation of street work. "There are some provisions in the Uniform Child Labor Law which the Kentucky law does not contain, such as the limitation of hours of minors over sixteen; nor does it attempt to regulate home work, and yet there are some other features in which it goes beyond the uniform law."

Mr. Jones said that the new law in Kentucky was based on the Uniform Child Labor Law and provided for an eight-hour day for all children under sixteen, for a fourteen-year limit, not only for factories, stores, etc., but also for street trades in cities of the first, second and third class, for a twenty-one year limit for night messengers between 9 P.M. and 6 A.M., for the prohibition of children under sixteen from certain dangerous occupations, and for the issuance of employment certificates which are to be returned to the issuing office whenever the child ceased to be employed.

"The opposition we had to meet in Kentucky," he said, "was not from the manufacturers. They even endorsed the bill and one of their representatives helped me talk to members of the legislature. The manufacturers have come to a very enlightened viewpoint because, with the eight-hour law in force in three of the large manufacturing states bordering on Kentucky, they have felt they could no longer withstand that provision. So opposition was not from the manufacturers but from the ignorance and prejudice of the legislators themselves, particularly the men from the rural districts. The men from the cities stood for the bill, even for the street trades provision, although it is, in view of the legislation in other states, a somewhat drastic measure. But the members from the rural districts could not get away from the idea that the poor little boy

who makes a few nickels selling papers on the street is helping to support his family and should be protected.

"The bill never could have been put through without the cooperation of all the forces throughout the state. The women's clubs, the State Federation of Labor, and a number of women who had been active in social work, worked together on the thing. We had letters coming from all over the state to members of the legislature. But even on the last day when the bill was going to the vote of the house, there was a slight reaction due to the efforts of the messenger companies and newspapers. This shows that in order to get a bill through a legislature you have to watch it right up to the last minute.

"Since the law was passed, we have made some provision for its enforcement. The state educational authorities are to meet in April, I think, and we have arranged for a conference at that time with the superintendents of schools in cities of the first, second and third class, to discuss the best plan for enforcement, particularly of the street trades provision. It is going to be a pretty hard problem for the state inspectors."

Mr. Jones was asked to make suggestions as to the enforcement of the street trades provision and said that the first thing to do was to educate the people themselves through the press, the clubs and the schools to realize that boys under the legal age who sold them papers were breaking the law; then to get them sufficiently interested to report the violations to the proper officers. He said a truant officer should be appointed in Louisville since Miss Nave's duties were too many to allow her to see that the city boys complied with the law, especially as to their badges. "We have often made a mistake, I think," Mr. Jones concluded, "in failing to follow up the passage of a bill with the question of enforcement and I hope that the people of Kentucky will not give up the fight until the law is actually enforced."

Miss Newman spoke of the importance of the workers being organized in order that they might insist upon the enforcement of laws without running the danger of forfeiting their jobs if they complained of violations.

Dr. Clopper, referring to the enforcement of the street trades provision, said: "We must not only concern ourselves with the enforcement of the law, but we should take such steps as will work towards the cure of the conditions themselves. For example, we ought to encourage the establishment of stands in cities for the sale of merchandise and periodicals, rather than to patronize the newsboys. Such outdoor work as newspaper selling, bootblacking and peddling should be reserved for the benefit of adults who are unable to earn their living in other ways, because they are tuberculous or crippled or otherwise incapacitated, and this would open to them the possibility of self-support. In New York in recent years the number of cripples and old men attending stands has increased, and people are patronizing them. They do not find it necessary to patronize the little newsboy and he is disappearing."

Miss Gordon pointed out that with the passage of the new Kentucky law, it is now a southern state which may be said to have the best child labor law in the country.

Dr. Clopper spoke on "Heckling the Schools"* and Prof. Frank M. Leavitt on "The Cooperation of the Schools in Reducing Child Labor."*

Miss Gordon asked Prof. Leavitt to describe the schools at Boise to which he had referred. Prof. Leavitt said: "In the first place they get everybody into the high school whether or not they have finished the elementary course, so soon as they are old enough or bright enough to do the work there. Then each one has to choose his curriculum. There are certain requirements: he is not left free to pick a snap course. One important feature is that he is given school credit for certain kinds of work that the school authorities certify to as being educational and worth doing. For example, certain boys agree to go to the dairy farm and milk cows every day and bring samples of milk to the school. Then in one of the classes they test the milk to know what percentage of butter-fat there is in it. And they keep records of different kinds, just as they would in any scientific curriculum. I am not sure about Boise, but in Wisconsin the children are being paid for such work as they do in connection with the schools. The three points that should be noted about this Boise school are then, first, that they have varied the curriculum. It would take a hundred lifetimes to get all the knowledge that the schools have, and it is all good stuff, good for somebody. Greek and Latin are good for somebody; modern languages are good for somebody, agriculture, commerce, economics, every human science and so on—every bit of it is good for somebody. But I refuse to admit that any small fraction of that sum total of human knowledge is better for everybody than any other fraction of it. So in Boise they have brought into their curriculum everything that is worth while in that community. And instead of merely fitting the children of the best people for an eastern university they are saying: 'Let our high school contribute to the success of this community.' Second, they are accepting certain kinds of work as school units even when they are done outside of the school. And third, the work is real work and not play."

Dr. McKelway reported receiving a telegram of distress from Maryland and upon his motion the following resolution was adopted:

"RESOLVED that the National Child Labor Committee, in convention assembled, notes with deep regret the attempted lowering of the standards of child protection by the legislature of Maryland, and urges the Governor of Maryland to veto House Bill No. 244 exempting the county canners from the child labor law."

The chairman pointed out that under the present Maryland law there was a fourteen-year age limit for most gainful occupations but the canneries were permitted to employ legally children twelve years of age. This bill would reduce even that meagre restriction.

Dr. McKelway offered also the following resolution which was unanimously adopted:

"RESOLVED that the National Child Labor Committee hereby expresses its grateful appreciation for the unbounded hospitality of the citizens of New Orleans, in private and official life, for the inspiring atmosphere of sympathy which has stimulated the best efforts of the speakers, for the effective methods adopted by local committees for making our Tenth Annual Conference the most successful in its history, to the newspapers for their intelligent and faithful reports of the proceedings, and to individuals too numerous to mention, who have labored unselfishly and tirelessly for the success of the conference. We

trust that the discussion in this great city of the rights of childhood will help the citizens of this state to secure for the children of Louisiana the full protection of an adequate law effectively enforced."

The chairman added a personal word of appreciation of the reception given to the conference by the people of New Orleans. "I remarked last night to a friend that to me the most striking feature of this conference, as compared with the others, has been the spirit of 'I will' that has been shown, not only by the speakers and those taking part in the discussion, but by the audience also. There has been a striking determination to do something, which I think augurs well for the future of the children."

TENTH SESSION.

A children's meeting was held Wednesday afternoon in the large auditorium of the Athenaeum. The upper grades of certain New Orleans schools were dismissed early to enable the teachers to bring their classes to the meeting. Besides the stories for children recited by children from the New Orleans schools, the Edison film, "Children Who Labor," was presented. The attendance was so large that scores of children had to be refused admittance. Mr. J. M. Gwinn, New Orleans Superintendent of Schools, said: "The children's meeting was most interesting, and, in my judgment, taught in a most impressive way some of the important facts concerning the evils of child labor and the importance of children remaining in school."

ELEVENTH SESSION.

The conference closed Wednesday evening with a reception to the delegates given by the Era Club at the Isaac Delgado Museum of Art. Several informal addresses were delivered: Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker's on "Enlightening the Public"* we print elsewhere in this volume.

DIRECTORY OF STATE AND LOCAL COMMITTEES IN COOPERATION OR AFFILIATION WITH THE NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE.

ALABAMA Child Labor Committee—Mrs. W. L. Murdock, 1500 South 20th St., Birmingham, *Chairman;* Miss Amelia Worthington, Jefferson Ave., Birmingham, *Secretary.*

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San Francisco Child Labor Committee—Mrs. E. L. Baldwin, 20 Market St., San Francisco, *Chairman.*

DELAWARE. (The State Child Labor Committee has been disbanded on account of the establishment of the Delaware Child Labor Commission, appointed by the Supreme Court of Delaware and consisting of the following members: John M. Mendinhall, Newport, *Chairman;* Jeremiah H. Coady, Wilmington; Mrs. Beniah Watson, Dover; Mrs. Ella C. Emery, Seaford; Miss Emily P. Bissell, Wilmington; Charles A. Cook, Wilmington; Benjamin A. Hazel, Smyrna; Andrew Marvel, Georgetown; Charles W. Bush, Wilmington, *Secretary.*

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SOME RESULTS

OF THE

National Child Labor Committee's Work

FORTY-SEVEN states have enacted new or improved child labor or compulsory education laws since the Committee's organization in 1904.

The UNIFORM CHILD LABOR LAW, drafted by the Committee, has been unanimously endorsed by the American Bar Association.

The Children's Bureau in the Federal Government was secured in 1912, through a bill drafted and a six year campaign waged by the Committee.

The PALMER CHILD LABOR BILL was introduced in Congress, January 26, 1914. Its promotion is one of the Committee's chief interests this year.

The Committee employs expert investigators to study and photograph child labor conditions throughout the country.

Employs legislative experts to draft and help secure improved laws.

Publishes the quarterly CHILD LABOR BULLETIN, A Study Course, and other literature on all phases of child labor.

Provides public lecturers.

Rents typewritten lecture with stereopticon slides showing children at work.

Furnishes exhibits of photographs, charts, diagrams and samples of children's work.

Co-operates with physicians, officials, educators, etc., to provide to children excluded from work, the physical, mental and moral opportunities needed to develop efficient citizenship.

Co-operates with relief societies to provide "scholarships" for poor families whose children are forbidden work.

7,500 members subscribed $56,602 in 1912-13. The work is supported entirely by these voluntary subscriptions. $100,000 a year are needed to do the work effectively.

To V. EVERIT MACY, Treasurer
National Child Labor Committee,
105 East 22nd Street, New York

I enclose $.....for the help of little children at work in tenement sweatshops, coal breakers and coal mines, cotton mills, glass factories, etc.

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The Child Labor Bulletin

Volume Three
Number Two
In Two Parts

AUGUST, 1914

Issued Quarterly
Price $2 per Year
Part I.

LITTLE OYSTER SHUCKERS AT WORK

Little Comrades Who Toil

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National Child Labor Committee
INCORPORATED
105 EAST 22d STREET, NEW YORK CITY

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TWENTY-FIVE CENTS

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LITTLE OYSTER SHUCKERS AT WORK

O, that we could show them
Where the berries grow,
Where the daisies whiten,
Where the boughs hang low.

On the picnic wagon,
On the load of hay,
There are places for them—
Let them come and play.

Sarah N. Cleghorn.

PUBLISHED BY
National Child Labor Committee
INCORPORATED
105 EAST 22d STREET, NEW YORK CITY

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NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

To Those Who Have,
on Behalf of
Those Who Have Not

FOREWORD

Dear Young Friends:

Helping those in trouble makes the very best sort of arithmetic examples; for it subtracts from your own troubles, adds to your joys, divides your time into pleasant occupations, and multiplies your interests.

So we are offering you in this book some ways of getting up entertainments to arouse interest in your Little Comrades Who Toil, by which you can do much to help free them from their sad lot. Remember that all that is told of their hardships, even in the stories and playlets, is strictly true.

If all the more fortunate boys and girls would do their best for these children, while the grown-ups are doing their best to make and enforce good child labor and education laws, so much sorrow and evil would be subtracted from these little comrades' lives, and so much joy, health and intelligence added, that this dear land of ours would be vastly better and happier to live in.

To parents we would say: Since the employers of child labor claim that childhood possesses enormous industrial value, it is full time to show them that childhood also possesses an enormous dynamic moral force through the activities of its generous sympathies. We therefore beg you to encourage your children in putting into effective action of some sort their ready pity for these other children in trouble.

It is only when their emotions are allowed no outlet in helpfulness, that sad tales breed morbidness in children. Let their feelings be made to turn the wheels of some noble endeavor, and no mill brook can whirl, singing on its way, with a gladder enthusiasm or more sparkling happiness.

The Editor.

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The Whitest Gift of All

HER NAME was Maria Maud. She was only ten years old and she sat by the side of the muddy, hilly road with a dirty envelope held close in a very thin and work-hardened hand.

Before we tell you what Maria Maud was about to do with that smudgy envelope we must tell you just a little of her life.

She could never remember being anything but tired. She was tired when she went to her miserable straw mattress at night; she was tired when she opened her eyes in the morning and contemplated the long day—in the cotton mill!

She had never played with doll or game. She had heard of Christmas but had always supposed it belonged to the rich people. She had not resented this or been bitter—she just thought it. She did not know how old she was—it didn't matter. Girls and women in the Southern hills didn't go by ages: they went by health and strength and power to "last."

Of course Maria Maud had a father and mother. The father had been unable to work for two reasons—he was lazy and proud. His pride forbade his working in the mill for wages no self-respecting man would accept while his wife and daughter could work! His laziness was an excuse for believing he was sick. So he sat by the wretched fire the long winter through and on the tumble-down porch the long summer through—smoking, always smoking. The poor mother had no spirit or courage. She was a woman of the hills and she thought she saw her duty. "He"—so she spoke of her husband—"had to be fed and looked after"—so she worked in the mill. In a poor, sad fashion she loved her baby and wondered about it. She named it Maria Maud because that seemed to her the most beautiful name on earth and she wished, in a vague way, that she could keep the baby pretty and clean and dimpled—but of course she couldn't, because children never were that way in the hills,—not children like Maria Maud, for the mill got them early. It made them dirty and hopeless and sometimes—wicked. And right there the poor mother took a stand. She meant to do her part in keeping Maria Maud from being wicked. And what do you

think she did in order to achieve this? She took her baby with her always to the mill! The father said he'd look after the child, but the mother said "No!" So she toted little Maria Maud to and fro, even when her back ached and her legs trembled and the whirring sound the machines made rang in her ears long after she left the mill!

In a soap box, under the trees, the lonely baby slept or cried or cooed with no one to heed until the noon hour, when the mother came and lifted the tiny form up and hugged it. After a while Maria Maud toddled from the box to the mill and the overseer laughed and said, "The kid knows what is good for her;" and when the dear little fingers could be trained to "tie knots," they helped "muvver" and of course the overseer did not pay for *that*. "A child *should* be with its mother," he said, "and it couldn't learn too early to help along."

Well, Maria Maud "helped along" and by the time she was eight she looked sad and hopeless.

Then the father died. The overseer said, when he heard of it, that there would be less money needed in the home—so he cut the wages of the tired mother, and Maria Maud worked a bit harder to make up—she was given some money, by that time; not much, but enough to keep her content.

Only one thing repaid the mother for her toil and suffering—Maria Maud was *not* wicked! She had the most beautiful dreams and fancies and sometimes, when she was not too tired, she told her mother about them. They had a queer game they called "You first" —and they began to play it, or say it, after the father died.

"What do you want most in the world?" Maria Maud would ask.

"You tell first!" said the mother.

"No, you!"

"No, you!" and so it would go until the mother had to smile, though she thought she had forgotten how.

Finally it came out that the mother wanted most of all in the world, a "tomb-stun!"

When Maria Maud heard that, she was terribly shocked, for she wanted her mother, and a "tomb-stun" meant no mother and an empty, empty cabin and long black nights.

"I knows," explained the mother, "that I be right selfish and perky, being as yo' pa ain't got no stun nor never specs none; but

you knows, Maria Maud, that yo' pa didn't ever do a 'commodation job for us all and he had his baccy first and last and so I ain't jes' plain mean in wanting a tomb-stun. I ain't perticerler as to size or quality. I ain't proud or too perlite, but I'd jes' like to look down and see the spot where I'm lying, marked out! Looking down is mighty confusing and graves are plenty—I jes' has an uncommon interest in knowing whar I *is*—or what's left of me! And now, what you want most in the world?"

"Well," and Maria Maud's face was very wistful, "I want—larnin'!"

"What fur?" gasped the mother.

"I doan't know. I jes' want it something turrible."

"Ye'd have to go to—school."

"Yes."

"Ye'd have to leave the mill."

"Yes."

"And ye'd have to give something for larnin'. It don't get chucked to yer."

"Yes. But that's what I want most—even if I never gets it."

"Well, chile, I reckon you'll get *that* as easy as I'll get a tomb-stun!"

And then they both smiled and looked at each other as mothers and little girls do look at times—the world over.

And then the mother died. Died so suddenly, so unexpectedly that Maria Maud could not comprehend what had befallen her at first. Not until the thin, worn body was laid among the "many graves" and the long, black nights settled down upon the empty cabin.

Even then Maria Maud did not cry—she suffered in a poor, dumb fashion and her eyes grew big and haunted, for a thought stayed ever with her when the wheels of machinery did not deafen her.

"Looking down is mighty confusing—I jes' has an uncommon interest in knowing whar I is—or what's left of me!"

Looking down *was* confusing! Even if you were only looking down from the height of a broken-hearted little girl of ten! The weeds grew so fast and the mound sank so quickly and soon—oh! soon, it would be hard to find "all that was left of muvver."

And just then a "missionary lady" had an inspiration. Seeing how shabby and neglected Maria Maud was, and realizing that a

mill hand hadn't much time for making clothing, she invited the child to come to her house when a certain barrel from the North arrived.

So Maria Maud went. She had no interest, especially, but she went because she was asked, and she looked with dull eyes as the missionary lady took the things from the barrel.

"I declare!" said the lady, "what were those people thinking of? Straw hats and party dresses. Dear me! And shoes to be mended! As if you all didn't have enough to do now. And men's clothing—when the lazy fellows won't work anyhow. Dear me! And——" here she paused and laughed aloud; "a dish cover, as you live, and no dish! I call that plain scandalous!"

But at that Maria Maud dashed forward and gripped the dish cover.

"I want it!" she panted, "I want it—something turrible. Please let me have it. I can do without shoes and things—but I *must* have this!"

"Good gracious!" said the missionary lady. "Don't be so fierce. Here it is, you odd child!—what are you going to do with it?"

But before she could answer, Maria Maud was out of the house.

She did not stop running until she reached the cemetery; not until she found the grave that hid "muvver." Then she knelt down and with loving hands and rapt face, she placed the dish cover at the head of the mound.

"Now us all can tell!" she whispered; "looking down won't matter now, and you wasn't perticerler, muvver!"

So one ambition was achieved. With strange courage Maria Maud got up and ran toward the cabin. She looked younger, happier than she had looked since the days when she lay in the soap box under the trees and smiled as the leaves flitted for her and she had reached up to them.

Dear little Maria Maud had always been reaching up. The mill could not kill her ambition: work could not blind the light of her soul. She had been able to give her mother the thing she wanted most in the world and now she was going to get what she wanted!

Yes, she was! The whistle blew and Maria Maud laughed aloud. She printed something on a piece of paper—how she had learned to do that. God and herself, alone, knew—she tied her few articles of clothing in a bag, then she set forth!

At first she ran—then she went slower, for it was a hard road

and the mill had not made Maria Maud strong or self-reliant. Finally she sat down to rest and that is where we first saw her with the crumpled envelope in her thin, work-hardened hand!

"Only a mile more!" murmured she; "a mile more and—then!"

The thought gave her strength. She had walked and run seven miles and she had had nothing to eat all day! The strange "tomb-stun" and her own adventure had kept her up, but she was near the end now.

It was twilight time when Miss Mary Alvin, sitting on the porch of her tiny home-school, saw the draggled little Maria Maud coming up the path.

Mary Alvin was not a missionary lady. She was a teacher; a tender woman and, at heart, the merriest soul that ever lived and loved a joke above anything. Lately she had been a bit home-sick, and was feeling rather low-spirited as Maria Maud came in view. "This is no joke!" she thought, and got up to welcome the stranger.

"You want—me?" she asked so kindly that Maria Maud trembled.

"Yes'm." She did indeed want her and need her, but she said "Yes'm" in a very hard, dry tone.

"What—do you want, little girl?"

"Larnin'! And I kin pay. I kin! I kin!"

Maybe this was a joke after all! Miss Alvin's eyes danced.

"Come up!" she said. "Now sit down in this nice, comfy rocker. No. Lean back—that's what the chair is for. I'm going to get you a glass of milk and some cookies."

Maria Maud drank and ate, but she could not lean back! She was rigid and cold with excitement.

"And now, my child, tell me all about it!"

They faced each other and Maria Maud began. She had not gone far when Mary Alvin was sobbing pitifully, but Maria Maud went on and on in her monotonous drawl. She was emptying her sad, troubled life into the heart of this woman who could—understand.

"And the tomb-stun is there, Miss, and I can find it no matter when I go back, and she, she can look down and—and see it and she'll wait until I get larnin'!"

"And—and—you can pay? What have you to give, you poor, precious child?"

Then Maria Maud got up stiffly and walked over to Miss Alvin.

"This!" she said simply and handed out the crumpled envelope.

There was just enough light to see by, but the tears in Mary Alvin's eyes blinded her. She wiped them away and tore the envelope apart. A scrap of paper was within. Brown paper, soiled and unlovely, and upon it was scrawled, "I give myself."

Something happened to Mary Alvin then. She seemed to be in a holy place and she waited. Then she heard words, plain words they were, words of the hills and of the people whom others had forgotten. The meaning of the words was what mattered and the meaning kept chanting over and over.

"I give my life for thee, for thee! What hast thou done for me?"

The plain words were repeating: "I can work, I can work! There's wood to fetch and tote, there's water to haul and the fires to mind. Early and late I'll work and work—for larnin'!"

Maria Maud dropped beside Mary Alvin. She had come to the end of her strength. She could not talk or promise anything more, but she could hear, and something was happening, indeed. Arms were about her, and tears were on her cheeks.

"Oh! the white, white gift of self! You poor child! Yes, I will give you learning and we will—we will play together and find happiness and God among the hills, you and I together!"

If you should see Maria Maud now, you would know that she and Mary Alvin had found their Holy Grail, for Maria Maud's face is happy and sweet and her back is never tired, nor the willing feet that carry her upon her tasks of love or mercy. Little children learn of her now and tired mothers come to her knowing full well that she will understand.

But remember, all you who read this story—there are many, many Maria Mauds in our Southern hills willing to give themselves for learning, but whose feet cannot find the way, alone. And there are mothers looking down from their far places watching and waiting for the dreams to come true for them they love. They want that the most of anything in the world!

Harriet T. Comstock.

The Big Robbery

(An Exercise for Boys and Girls.)

(*Six boys and six girls come in together, the boys apparently in earnest conversation.*)

1ST GIRL. What are you boys talking about?

1ST BOY. About the big robbery.

GIRLS. (*Much startled*)—A big robbery!!!

2D BOY. Yes, one of the biggest we've ever heard of.

2D GIRL. Where was it?

3D BOY. It is going on now, all the time, throughout our whole country; isn't it, boys?

BOYS. (*Nodding their heads*)—Yes, it is.

3D GIRL. Who is being robbed?

4TH BOY. Nearly 2,000,000 children!

4TH GIRL. Nonsense! Children don't own anything. What can they be robbed of?

5TH BOY. They are being robbed of health, and play-time, and the chance to become good men and women.

5TH GIRL. How in the world are they being robbed of all that?

6TH BOY. They are allowed to sell papers and other things on the streets, and they are put into factories, and mills, and mines, and coalbreakers, and glass works, and many more places where they have to work for hours and hours.

6TH GIRL. But my mother says God has given children fathers and mothers to take care of them while they are growing and learning and getting ready to be workers.

1ST GIRL. And my father says that when children leave school too early they forget all they have learned there. Then when they grow up they can only get the poorly paid places, because the people who know more will get all the better ones.

1ST BOY. Well, thousands of these children begin work so young that they never even learn to read and write.

2D GIRL. Then, of course, they are robbed of their education. But why do people make such young children work?

2D BOY. Because they don't have to pay them as much as they do older folks.

3D GIRL. Our doctor says that it ruins children's constitutions to do just a single thing over and over again all day long. It overworks one set of muscles while the others aren't worked enough.

3D BOY. Well, about 6,000 boys, under 16 years old, work in the coal-breakers of Pennsylvania. They do the same thing over and over all day; for they just sit and pick the slate and stones out of the coal as it rushes by them rattlety bang.

In most of the breakers the coal dust is so thick that the boys can't help breathing it into their noses and lungs. And any doctor will tell you *that* is dangerous to health.

4TH BOY. Thousands and thousands of girls, as well as boys, work in the cotton mills, where they have to do the same thing over and over for 9, 10, 11 or more hours a day and they breathe in the fine cotton lint that fills the air.

5TH BOY. Over 2,000 boys work in the glass factories of West Virginia and Pennsylvania. They have to work nights too, from 7 at night till 4 in the morning. Around the furnaces the heat is awful, and fine glass, like sparkling frost, floats in the air. I don't believe any doctor would call that good for growing boys.

6TH BOY. Then, there are the children who work in the steaming hot canneries, or who pick berries all day, or mine coal, or shuck oysters or work in tenement houses making hundreds of different things.

The fact is, I don't believe there is a person here who doesn't own or eat or wear something that children have had to work on.

4TH GIRL. We understand now what you mean by children being robbed of health. Don't we, girls?

GIRLS. Yes; and it is a cruel shame!

5TH GIRL. My Sunday school teacher says she has heard newsboys and messenger boys on the streets use dreadful language; and she says they gamble and fight, too.

1ST BOY. Well, they aren't the only boys who do all that, and worse, too!

5TH GIRL. But these were such little boys to know so much badness.

2D BOY. The messenger boys, especially at night, have to go into saloons, and to places where they sell opium, and into all sorts of wicked places.

3D BOY. The factories are often worse than the streets for teaching children badness.

6TH GIRL. Yes; a judge of one of the children's courts told my father that in some cities nine times as many working children as school children have to be arrested and sent to reformatories.

1ST GIRL. But there are Sunday schools and churches for them to go to.

4TH BOY. But, you see, Sunday is their only chance to play; and, poor kids, they want a little play. Besides, they are often too used up and stupid to go to church and Sunday school. Though, I suspect the main reason is that getting wages makes them feel too big and independent for Sunday school. And, of course, if they've got in with bad folks they don't want to come.

2D GIRL. Then, it is perfectly plain that these children are robbed of their chance to be good.

3D GIRL. I don't wonder you boys called it "THE BIG ROBBERY." Nearly 2,000,000 children robbed of their most valuable things: education, health and goodness. It is a wicked, shameful robbery! And all just to save paying out a little more money in wages.

4TH GIRL. Why don't people get together and have a society to stop this robbing of children who can't help themselves?

5TH BOY. Whew! Societies cost money!

5TH GIRL. Well, aren't children's minds, bodies and souls worth spending money on?

6TH BOY. I know that all *our* parents think so. They spend a lot of money on us. I think I'll ask mine to give some of what they spend on me for those other children.

ALL. And I, too.

6TH GIRL. Why can't we give some money *ourselves?* There are things we can save pennies and nickels on: soda water, and candy, and oh! ever so many other things.

1ST GIRL. And there are plenty of ways in which we can *earn* money to give. Why, a little girl once dusted the books in her home for a whole year to earn $2 to help these children. I'm sure I could earn money, too.

1ST BOY. Good idea! I believe if we once took hold we could make things HUM!!!

2D GIRL. And it would be a mighty practical way of getting these children *into* our Sunday schools, by taking away their excuse for keeping *out.*

2D BOY. We will be the Crusaders to start another Children's Crusade; this time to save children from being robbed.

3D GIRL. It would certainly be a more fitting undertaking for children than the Children's Crusade hundred of years ago to rescue the Holy Sepulchre from the Saracens.

3D BOY. Right you are! Come, let's get hold of the other girls and boys and see if we can't do something BIG!

ALL. Yes, we will, we will!!!

(They go off the platform.)

Lydia Hale Crane.

The Child Crusaders' Hymn

(Tune, "Onward, Christian Soldiers")

Ah, how long, Lord Jesus,
Must our playmates stay
Drudging, drudging, drudging
All and every day?
Bruised and sore their fingers,
Dull and sad their eyes;
Heavily they slumber,
Wearily they rise.

Pale and tired comrades,
Asking us to pray
That the working children
Might come out to play.

Long enough, and too long,
In the damp, hot room,
Have they watched the bobbins,
Breathing dust and fume;
Long with aching shoulders
By the grimy hole
Have they crouched and sorted
Endless streams of coal.

Thin and tired comrades,
From our hearts we pray,
That the working children
Soon shall come and play.

Oh, that we could show them
Where the berries grow,
Where the daisies whiten,
Where the boughs hang low.
On the picnic wagon,
On the load of hay,
There are places for them,—
Let them come and play.

Jesus, may we never
Cease to strive and pray
Till the working children
All are free to play.

Sarah N. Cleghorn.

The Good Samaritan

(An Exercise for Boys and Girls.)

(A girl and a boy, about 14, come in carrying, by means of a pole at each end, a strip of white muslin, on which is inscribed in large letters, "The National Child Labor Committee, THE GOOD SAMARITAN TO CHILDREN WHO LABOR." They stand so that with the strip they form a portal for all the children who take part to pass through.)

BOY *(With Banner)* That there has been a big robbery of the children is true. It is true, too, that those who should have helped them "passed by on the other side." At last came the Reverend Edgar Gardner Murphy, who had pity on them. With others he started a society called The National Child Labor Committee. That Committee is the Good Samaritan for children who labor.

But, as you know, "societies cost money." The thousands who have joined this one have proved by giving money that they think children are worth more than money.

Here is part of what the National Child Labor Committee has been able to accomplish through their help.

The District of Columbia and six states have passed child labor laws for the first time.

Every state in the Union has made new or better child labor or educational laws than it had before—such as raising the age limit, forbidding night work, shortening the working day, or requiring school attendance. Through these laws, thousands of children from mines, mills and factories have been added to the schools.

In seven states it has been forbidden to expose young boys to the evils of the night messenger service. Several states have forbidden newspaper selling by girls on city streets, or by young boys late at night. Two states have forbidden children under fourteen to manufacture in the tenements. And much more has been accomplished.

GIRL (*With Banner*) But the robbers of the children hate to give them up; so there are still states where boys and girls are working at street trades late at night, where children are working long hours in the factories, and where 27,000 children, many of them very young, are working in the moist heat and noise of the cotton mills; and there are still four states where children work all night long, either in glass factories or cotton mills. It is a hard fight, and the help of every one of you is needed in saving these children to the schools, the community, the Sunday schools and the churches.

Here are little oyster shuckers and shrimp pickers for whom we need your help as Good Samaritans. Children of five years may be found among these working as long as there are oysters to shuck or shrimps to pick.

(*Enter under the banner little ones from the Primary Class. Three of them stand in front of the rest, and recite each a single verse.*)

THE LITTLE OYSTER SHUCKERS

We stand among the broken shells,
Ragged, forlorn, on aching feet;
With rough and wounded hands, we "shuck"
The oysters happy families eat.

The boats may come at any time;—
At dead of night, when we're in bed
We hear the call, "The boats are in:
Come, hurry to the oyster shed!"

Our sleepy eyes peer through the fog,
Our stumbling steps scarce find the way,
Where, damp and chill through endless hours,
We work at night, or work at day.

(*They pass on to the left and off the platform*)

BOY (*With Banner*). Here are coalbreaker boys. Many of them get no chance to go to school. A boy like these, Peter got his chance in a pretty hard way: his arm was torn off at the shoulder, so he went to school. But his friend Steiney, who kept his arms, lost his school chance, and is still in the coalbreaker.

THE BREAKER BOYS' REQUEST

(Boys of eleven to fourteen should be in this group. Two standing in advance recite each a verse.)

Amid the rushing coal we sit,
The whole day long in dust and murk:
With aching back, and choking breath,—
While you're at play, we're kept at work.

So, when among the glowing coals
Your fancy sketches fairy scenes,
Picture the lot of breaker boys,
And all the harm and loss it means.

(They file around to the right and off the platform)

GIRL *(With Banner)* It would seem as if berry and cotton picking in the open air might be fun. But when it is kept up all day long, day after day and week after week, the fun goes out of it. Children are taken out of school in May for the strawberry picking and hulling season and then the other berry crops come along one after the other. Last of all, the cranberries keep the children out of school in the fall. Will you not be Good Samaritans to the berry and cotton pickers?

LITTLE BERRY AND COTTON PICKERS

(Nine primary children recite these lines with appropriate motions. Throughout the recitation three kneel to pick strawberries from the ground, three sit on heels to pick cranberries higher up, three stand to pick cotton.)

1ST CHILD (*Pointing upwards*) Under the sun from morn till eve,
2D CHILD (*All pick*) We pick, and pick, and pick,
3D CHILD (*Picks sitting on heels*) Where cranberries,
4TH CHILD (*Picks kneeling*) Where strawberries,
5TH CHILD (*Picks standing*) Where cotton bolls grow thick.
6TH CHILD (*All picking*) We may not run away and play,
7TH CHILD (*All picking*) We may not seek the shade.
8TH CHILD (*All picking very fast*) Our backs are bent, our fingers fly,
9TH CHILD (*All raising themselves up; each leaning with right hand at back as if very tired*) Till day begins to fade.

(They file around to the left, off the platform)

BOY (*With Banner*)

Many children work at night while we are in bed having pleasant dreams. We want you to help us give them back their right to a good night's sleep. Here are cotton spinners from the one state where they still work the children at night in the cotton mills.

THE SLEEPY NIGHT WORKERS

(*A group of girls ten years and over file under the banner. One girl recites, walking up and down the length of the platform, before an imaginary spinning frame. She stops every few feet to tie an imaginary thread, broken in spinning from the bobbin above to the one below.*)

I am *so* sleepy, the night is *so* long,
My eyes, how they ache and water and blink:—
I scarce see the threads I must tie when they break,
The heat and the noise make me ready to sink.
If I but had a chance to sit,
And rest my hands and head a bit!

(*One girl recites, making appropriate gestures which all others imitate.*)

We are *so* sleepy, the night is *so* long,
Our backs are so tired, and so are our heads,
If we could lie down just here where we stand,
We would fall fast asleep without waiting for beds.

BOY (*With Banner*)

Here are the carrying-in boys from the glass works, where the big furnaces are.

(*A group of boys as above. Recitation by one boy, walking fast, to and fro, the length of the platform. Boys and girls all join in the motions during the chorus.*)

I am *so* sleepy, the night is *so* long,
Miles have I trotted with trays of hot glass:
The glare from the furnace dazzles my eyes;
And the heat of it scorches my skin as I pass.
If I but had a chance to sit
And rest my tired feet a bit!

CHORUS. We are *so* sleepy, etc.

(*They file around to the right, off the platform*)

GIRL (*With Banner*)

Thousands of children live in the city tenements, where many families are crowded into a single house, and each family is crowded into one, two or three tiny rooms. Here grown-ups and children work in bad light and worse air. Among them little three-year-old Marietta was found making forget-me-nots. By working all day, and into the evening, she could make 540 blossoms; and for this long day's work she earned only five cents.

Little Marietta's story was told in a prison. Afterwards, one of the prisoners, who was there for life, handed the speaker a small, shabby purse, saying, "For the little girl." The purse contained 45 cents, and a scrap of newspaper on which was pencilled, "Jerry Mason, to Little Sister." Will you not join with Jerry Mason in helping us to save these, *our little sisters,* who never have a chance to pick a real flower because they are so busy making flowers for others to wear?

THE LITTLE SISTER

(*An older girl leads under the banner a three-year-old girl, who might hold a wreath of forget-me-nots in her hand. The older girl recites.*)

She is but three years old, and yet
Throughout long, weary hours,
Her tiny fingers, one by one,
Build up the tiny flowers.

And more than sixteen hundred parts,
She places piece by piece,
Ere baby hands, and baby eyes
From toil can win release.

Petals and leaves before her lie
Apart, in heaps and lots,
From which her baby fingers weave
Wreaths of forget-me-nots.

"Forget-*me*-not," she seems to cry,
(*Puts her arm around the child.*)
Nay, weary, patient tot,
Since thou our little sister art
We will forget-thee-not.

(*They turn to the left and leave the platform.*)

BOY (*With Banner*) Don't you think if so many children are being robbed on our account, we ought to do something to save them? If every man, woman and child would join as Good Samaritans in this effort, the work of the National Child Labor Committee, the Good Samaritan to Children Who Labor, would soon be ended.

BOY AND GIRL (*Rolling up the banner on the poles till they are close together, and carrying it thus off the platform*)

"And it would fold its tent like the Arabs,
And silenty steal away."

Lydia Hale Crane.

The Messenger Boy

NED — Father, I want to be a messenger boy.

FATHER — What put that into your head?

NED — Oh, I saw such a nice-looking boy to-day, with a fine blue suit on. He looked almost like a soldier; and he said he ran all around everywhere, and had a real good time, and smoked all the cigarettes he wanted to.

FATHER — Did he stand up straight like a soldier and have rosy cheeks and bright eyes?

NED — (*Thoughtfully*) N-o-o. Jane said he had a "slouch on him" and was very "bad complected." He coughed, too.

FATHER — Yes, cigarette smoking boys always have a slouch and a cough.

NED — (*Opening his eyes very wide*) Do they? (*Shaking his head*) I don't like coughing. Father, he said he was what was called "a 'knowin' one."

FATHER — Did he tell you what he knew?

NED — No, Jane called me in and told me not to be palavering with strange boys.

FATHER — Jane was right. So you want to be a messenger boy, and have a slouch on and be bad complected and "a knowin' one" with a cough?

NED — (*Laughing*) No, not all of that; but I would like the blue suit and the running about everywhere.

FATHER — Well, there's no law against your having a blue suit with brass buttons and running on messages for your mother and me and Aunt Susie and Cousin Tom and Jane and the cook. They would be glad to have someone to carry messages to the grocer, the butcher, the baker, the doctor, the dressmaker, the coal-yard, and Grandma and all the aunts and uncles and cousins, and——

NED — (*Very emphatically*) But, Father, I have to run with a lot of those messages now, and I don't like it one little bit. I get tired and it takes up too much of my play-time.

FATHER — (*Showing much surprise*) Play-time! Messenger boys are not supposed to have play-time. All they have is *waiting* time. When there are no messages to be sent out, they have to hang around the office with a crowd of other boys; and even if they get up a game of marbles they may have to stop in the middle to go out with a message.

NED — (*In dismay*) No play-time *at all?*

FATHER — You get tired carrying messages, do you? Well, so do they. You mustn't suppose that they go only when they want to or to the places they like to go to. No, they have *got to* go even if they are tired out and have blistered feet. And they *must go wherever* they are sent, no matter where it is, or even if they "don't like it one little bit."

NED (*In a rather forlorn tone*) But don't they have *any* fun?

FATHER That depends on what you call fun. I myself shouldn't call it fun if just at lunch-time, when I was as hungry as a man-eating tiger, I had to start off with a message and had only a piece of cold pie or a roll from a bakery in my hand to eat as I ran. And from what I know of you, Master Ned, I don't believe you would call it fun if when six o'clock came and you knew that a fine hot supper was ready for you at home, you were sent so far away that it would take you 'till eight o'clock to get back.

NED (*Anxiously*) But is it always that way?

FATHER It is that way so much of the time that the boys never know when or what they are going to have a chance to eat. It gives them very uncomfortable stomachs and not healthy-looking faces. Then, too, weather makes no difference; sizzling hot or freezing cold, rain, sleet, snow, out they must go just the same as if it were fine.

NED (*With renewed cheerfulness*) But, Father, they do get a chance to go all about the city and see lots and lots of things.

FATHER Poor fellows! So they do. But, Ned, lad, (*smiling and shaking his head*), you're not over fond of drunken men, are you?

NED No, siree, I should say not!

FATHER No, I thought not; especially since that man staggered into you last week and tumbled you over onto the sidewalk so that you had nose-bleed.

NED That was bad enough but, ugh, the horrid rag of a handkerchief he tried to wipe my face with! But, Father—

FATHER Yes, I know; you are wondering what that has to do with messenger boys? How would you like to carry a message to a saloon-keeper? And have to go into the saloon no matter how many drunken men were there, or even if a fight was going on?

NED But, Father, I don't think messages ought to be carried to such places.

FATHER But if a saloon-keeper's father sends him a message that he is sick, and wants to see him, the message has to be carried to him, hasn't it?

NED (*Slowly*) Y-e-s, I suppose so.

FATHER Do you remember that dirty lane we looked down yesterday? The one that leads to the river and has the tumbledown houses?

NED Where those women were quarrelling? Yes, indeed I do. But you don't mean, Father, that messenger boys have to go into such places?

FATHER Into much worse, my son, often late at night. Would you like to go there, say at midnight?

NED I don't think any *boys* ought to be asked to go to such places!

FATHER It is part of the "everywhere" in the city you were wishing to go to. Why do you say so emphatically that you "don't think any *boys* ought to be asked to go to such places?"

NED Because dreadful things might happen to them. I should think that a boy—even a boy bigger than I am would be afraid to go to such places.

FATHER Poor fellows. They are often afraid, Ned, and "dreadful things" do happen to them, and they learn so much wickedness that it often ends for them by being arrested and shut up in reformatories.

You are right, Ned, no *boy* ought to be sent with messages to the horribly bad and dangerous places. It is bad enough for strong men to have to go to such places. That is why it was made a law in New York State that no boy under twenty-one should carry night messages; and it is the reason why we are trying to get all the other states to make the same law. Really, Ned, I should hate to see you a messenger boy, no matter how fine a blue suit you wore. I should hate to have you lose your play-time and education, to have you obliged to get any sort of a meal at any old time, to have you sent into saloons and the worst places in the town, to have you weary and footsore, out in the worst of weather, or hanging around with crowds of rough, swearing, cigarette smoking young toughs playing craps. Why, Ned, I would rather you had small-pox or bubonic plague, or——

NED But, Father, are all the messenger boys so bad?

FATHER No, Ned, bless their brave young hearts, they are NOT. But a boy who keeps good and pure in such surroundings has got to have the real hero heart. And even the best boy going is in danger of coming out of it all with ruined health, and with no business learned that he can make a living by when he is too old to keep on being a messenger boy. You see, Ned, it is a blind alley trade.

NED (*With puzzled frown*) "A blind alley trade?" I don't think I understand.

FATHER Why surely you know what a blind alley is. There is one back of your Grandfather's garden, that is cut off short, around the curve, by Mr. Cook's garden wall.

NED (*Laughing*) Oh, it was so jolly before Grandfather put up the sign "Blind Alley" to see the folks that went down it come back madder than mad. Do you remember the coal cart that had to back all the way out? My, that man nearly had a fit.

FATHER Just so. A blind alley trade leads nowhere and when a boy gets too big for it, he too "has to back all the way out" and

try some other way. Then, as he knows nothing about any worth-while work, he gets what you boys call "turned down." Blind alley trades for the *boy* mean that the *man* must travel No Trade Lane, and generally for life, just because he lost all his chances for learning a good business while still young.

NED — But, Father, you don't seem to think being a messenger boy is a good business for even a boy while he is at it.

FATHER — No, you're right, I don't. For little boys, it is too hard, with too much bodily exposure and danger. For big boys, it isn't hard enough. It is a regular lazy-bones' job for a big, husky lad, with its hours of loafing and its irregularity of work. And for every boy it is too beset with temptation.
When it comes to choosing a business, you boys must learn to think Long Thoughts.

NED — (*Puzzled*) What sort of thoughts are they, Father?

FATHER — Well, it seemed to me you thought fairly Long Thoughts when last Fourth of July you told me what you wanted for Christmas.

NED — Oh, I see; you mean to think ahead. Well, Father (*jumping up*), I'll tell you my Long Thought. I'll plan to be the President of something Big: either a Bank or a College or the Board of Health, or the Board of Trade, or the United States, or a Base Ball Team—I haven't made up my mind which.

FATHER — (*Rising and laughing*) Whichever it is, Ned, mind you work hard to get it. Now, while you are finishing out your Long Thought, suppose we go to the Ball Game.

[*Exeunt.*]

Lydia Hale Crane.

(SAM *comes in slowly and thoughtfully, and sits down with his elbows on his knees and his chin in his hands in a brown study. Enter his* GRANDFATHER *without seeing him; he sits down to read his paper*)

SAM (*Suddenly*) Grandpa!

GRANDFATHER (*Starts and looks up over his paper*) Why, Sam, I didn't know you were here. What is it, my boy?

SAM Don't you think the city streets are very interesting and—and amusing?

GRANDFATHER Yes, I do. Why do you ask?

SAM Don't you think they are beautiful at night when all the electric lights are on?

GRANDFATHER Yes, yes, of course. Well, what of it?

SAM Grandpa, I think the newsies must have an awfully good time. No lessons, no going to bed early, skipping on and off trolley cars and running around as they please. I'll bet they don't have to brush their teeth or comb their hair and they can wear their old clothes all the time.

GRANDFATHER And is that the sort of boy *you* would like to be?

SAM Why, y-e-s, Grandpa, I'd like to try it. I'm pretty tired of being the sort I am. You know how it is, "Sam, you must," or "Sam, you mustn't" all the time.
(*There is heard outside a boy calling, "Here you are, sir, Times, Sun, World, Herald, Tribune* [*substitute names of local papers*], *all the papers, sir!"*)

GRANDFATHER Call that Newsie in, Sam, and we'll get *his* views.
(*Sam runs out and is heard calling, "Boy, I say, Newsboy, my Grandfather wants you."*)

NEWSIE And what does your bloomin' grandad want of me, Mr. High-Brow?

SAM Come in and you'll find out.
(*Sam returns with a limping, ragged, unkempt boy with a bundle of papers under his arm.*)

NEWSIE Here I be, Boss, want a paper?

GRANDFATHER Yes, I'll take them all.

NEWSIE Gee! That's a quick sale.
(*The money is paid over and Grandfather drops the papers onto the chair beside him.*)

GRANDFATHER Now sit down and tell us about the fun you have being on the streets early in the day and late at night.

NEWSIE Fun, is it? Do you call it fun to be chased off your beat by another boy 'cause he happens to be bigger'n you? Is it fun to have the cops after you if you gets in their way? Is it fun to have your shoes split out and your toes on the pavement to be froze in winter and blistered in summer?

GRANDFATHER But my grandson thinks it must be great fun to jump on and off the trolley cars?

NEWSIE I thought so too at first. But it gets to be awful tiresome. And, gee! I didn't think it fun that icy day I slipped off into the middle of the street and broke my leg. I was laid up in the hospital for nearly a month and have had this limp ever since.

SAM But not all the boys break their legs?

NEWSIE Right you are! But they does that kind of stunt oftener than you knows of, let me tell you!

SAM It *is* fun though, *isn't* it, to be a newsboy?

NEWSIE (*Gloomily*) Search me! If it is I ain't found it out. Some of the boys think it's fine; but they'd think anything fine that kept them on the street and let them run wild and get pennies for craps and movies. Now that ain't me. It's business with me. I've got a family to support and it's up to me now to quit chinnin' here and get a move on me. (*Starts to rise*)

GRANDFATHER No, I've bought all your papers and you must give me the time it would have taken you to sell them on the street. Tell us all about your business and what sort you would like better. Sam and I want to get at the bottom of this.

NEWSIE (*Jumping up excitedly*) Well, I tell you if you go to the bottom you'll go mighty far down, as far down as——I was goin' to say the name of the bad place, but p'raps you'd take me for the swearin' sort and that ain't me! (*Proudly drawing himself up straight*) You see, I've got a mother that's the right kind. You won't find another to beat her, betcher life.

GRANDFATHER How did she happen to let you go out as a newsie at all?

SAM (*Eagerly*) Yes, tell us the whole story, do.

NEWSIE (*Seating himself and holding forth energetically*) How'd she let me, is it? Well, she didn't. She was in the hospital, and me father dead of consumption, and our money used up, and Tom and Ann (they're 16 and 14) not gittin' enough wages for the whole six of us. So says I to Mary (she's 9), "Mary, after school you and the kids is to sit in Mrs. O'Fagan's room and pull bastin's out of the pants she gets from the factory to finish and I'll go out paper-sellin'."

A feller what I knew put me wise and I got on fine. He told me the drunks was easy catches, so I went into the saloons or watched at the door for 'em. And they was easy for sure, 'cause they'd forgit to take the change. But it was bad when they was *ugly* drunk. Sometimes I got a good clip on my head or a kick before I could skip. Then, too, I had a stand with my pal,—well, of all the bad, dirty villains that was around there—drinkin', swearin', fightin',—the women

a sight worse nor the men. Bah!! (*Spits as if getting something out of his mouth*) it leaves a bad taste yet. I tell you (*jumping up and shaking his fist in his earnestness*) that was the bottom of the business, and nearer to the really truly bad place than I ever want to be again, and don't you forget it!!

Mother changed all that when she got out of the hospital. She said I must make a clean business of it, cut out the drunks and the saloons and the other bad places, and get a beat in the respectable part of the town. That's why I'm around here.

GRANDFATHER Did your pal keep on with the stand?

NEWSIE He did that, till he was pinched for keeping back change and sent up.

SAM Sent up?

NEWSIE To the Reform School. They say it ain't so awful bad there; but it'd kill mother if I got sent up. There's lots of the boys goes, though, and most of 'em more'n once, and I know several who've ended up in State's Prison.

GRANDFATHER Poor fellows! When they are trying to help their families!

NEWSIE Help their families, nothin'! Nearly all the boys sell papers for their own pockets. Hardly any of them boys I know take a cent home. Most of 'em don't need to, they've fathers to support 'em. They've got the laugh on you sure, if you thinks they take money home.

SAM But isn't it fine to be on the street at night?

NEWSIE You go chase yourself, sonnie. After you've been on the street once or twice at night, you've seen all there is to see. What's the fun after that? What's the fun of waitin' before daylight, cold mornin's, to get your papers hot off the press? What's the fun of sleepin' crowded together over a baker's gratin' to keep warm 'cause you ain't got no better place to go to? That's what some has to do.

SAM (*Triumphantly*) But you don't have to go to school!!

NEWSIE Don't, eh? Much you knows about it. I ain't no truant, but I can't get ahead 'cause I'm too tired and sleepy to study. Honest Injun!! It shames me, too, to meet the school fellers on the street when I have on these togs. (*Apologetically.*) You see if I wear my glad rags out sellin', they get spoiled and besides the boys kid me for a missie.

GRANDFATHER Would you like to give up selling so as to study harder and learn a better business?

NEWSIE Wouldn't I just! Mother cries over this. She says I'll never get on in the world if I don't learn better. Father was a boss carpenter and knew a lot, and we lived fine till he took sick and was laid up so long that all the money was spent.

GRANDFATHER Would you like a scholarship?

NEWSIE (*Suspiciously*) What sort of bird is that?

GRANDFATHER You have paid to you what you would make each week selling papers on condition that you get good all-around marks at school, for lessons, punctuality, and deportment; and see that your younger brothers and sisters go to school and do their best.

NEWSIE Aw, come now, you're kiddin' me. That's a cinch to get paid for doin' what you're dyin' to do!

GRANDFATHER It is all quite true. People who think that boys like you should have a chance have given the money to pay for it. But of course, your story will have to be carefully looked into. Would your mother object to being called upon and questioned?

NEWSIE (*Jumping out of his chair and with excitement*) NOT SHE!! She'll fair go nutty at the idea of my gettin' a chance.

GRANDFATHER Remember, you'll have to make good or the scholarship will be withdrawn.

NEWSIE Now you're shoutin'! Just try me on!

SAM (*Puzzled*) Do you really want to go to school so much and lose all your freedom?

NEWSIE Aw, go 'long! Freedom to be a bum and a tramp? Yes, I do want to go to school and learn so that I can get a home like this for mother and the kids.

GRANDFATHER Come, then, we'll go to the Committee on Scholarships at once.

NEWSIE AND SAM Hurray, Hurray!!!

(*They go off together,* NEWSIE *and* SAM *each waving a paper in one hand and clinging to* GRANDFATHER *with the other*)

Lydia Hale Crane.

Blossom Time

NATALIE DALLAS touched the tips of her fingers and raised her arms as high above her head as they would go. She stretched out her feet till the buckles on her slender pumps looked almost as far off as Alice's feet were when she grew so unreasonably in Wonderland. Then Natalie hastily dropped her arms and pulled back her feet, suppressing the comfortable yawn she was beginning, because Miss Margaret Alton was in the room, and looked up at her. Miss Alton was visiting Natalie's mother. The little girl was growing somewhat accustomed to her presence, but one—one who is but eleven—never can quite feel at home with the Truly Great who write stories and books which are printed and advertised in the magazines. Miss Margaret was an Author, with a capital A in Natalie's mind, and Natalie stood in awe of her.

Now Miss Margaret smiled, with eyebrows inquiringly lifted.

"Tired out doing nothing, Natalie?" she asked.

"I guess it's spring fever," said Natalie, trying to appear grown up. "It's horrid in the city in May, so stuffy! I keep thinking about our country place, Salt Breezes. It's lovely there, lots of flowers and trees. We can't get off this year till the first week of June; father doesn't sail from England till next week, you know. It's so stuffy in town."

Miss Margaret glanced around the room and back at the little girl with a sudden gleam in her dark eyes.

Natalie was a pretty child, somewhat spoiled, but sweet natured, capable of fine things. She was exquisitely dressed, perfect from the crown of her well-tended hair to the pumps which she had hastily pulled in when Miss Margaret looked up. The child's every motion and belonging told of one who had been adorned and fed upon the best that great wealth can buy from her first hour of life. And the great room, spacious, high-ceiled, beautiful, was a setting as magnificent as a princess could ask. Yet Natalie called it stuffy! Miss Margaret looked at Natalie.

"The city *is* stuffy, as you say, in spring," she agreed. "There are parts of it which are deserving of that reproach in winter. Natalie, you are tired of all amusements. I think I'll show you something that is not amusing, but which is at least arousing. You are only a little girl, but it is not too early for you to be shown some-

thing rather worse than waiting, in such a house as this is, till the first of June to go to Salt Breezes. I'll ask your mother to lend you to me for this afternoon."

"O! Margaret," cried Natalie's mother when she was asked to lend Natalie. "Pray don't take her where there's contagion. And don't make the child unhappy! I don't want Natalie made wretched; she's only a child!"

"She is eleven and utterly weary of luxury. Do you forget, Edith, all our plans to do great things, when we were in college? You have a little daughter to fulfil your dreams. It doesn't harm a child to pity till it is a pain. Natalie can be a fine woman, but you've got to make fine women out of little girls; not wait till they are grown up! I will not let Natalie come to grief. Let me take her to the other side this afternoon, Edith."

Mrs. Dallas did not know how to refuse Miss Margaret, so Natalie went, not in the big car, as she usually went about the city, but in street cars, frequently changing one for another, till the last stage of her journey, which was made on foot.

Natalie had fallen silent before this stage was reached. She clung to Miss Margaret's hand, half afraid, wholly shocked. Such dismal, narrow, dirty streets were beyond her nightmare dreams. In them, horrible people who might be hundreds of years old, so battered, disfigured were they, lounged against boxes and dropped on curbings, staring with scowls at Miss Margaret and her dainty little companion. Worse than this were little children, babies, so weazened, thin, forlorn, that they did not look like human babies, lying on steps in rolls of faded rags, or hung on women's arms, while babies of larger size fell and toddled beside them, all with sad, empty faces that suggested anything rather than babyhood.

Miss Margaret looked down on Natalie with a compassionate smile; she realized how this poverty must horrify the child who had seen nothing in her life worse than a beggar in the shopping district.

"We are going into this house, dear," she said gently.

She led Natalie up the black stairway which they mounted: Natalie could not see a step, but Miss Margaret guided her along. They stopped and Miss Margaret knocked at a door which Natalie could not see in the murky blackness of a passage that was filled with greasy, heavy odors which seemed to choke and darken it, like a sort of reeking wadding.

A child's voice cried, "Come in," and they entered.

Natalie saw a tiny room which was filled by five figures seated around a pine table, the table strewn with flower petals, all pink and white and spring-like, in sharpest contrast to the wretched room. It was a moment before Natalie saw that the petals were artificial and that the five figures were making them into flowers.

There was a gray half-light coming in from one window, a light so cloudy that at once Natalie was conscious of eye-strain as she looked at the petals to see whether or not they were real flowers.

And the figures around the table! One was a woman, thin, haggard, gray, but not old. The other four were children, a boy older than Natalie, a girl younger, another girl still younger than the other, and a baby, a little thin, sober creature of about four, whose dark head rose but a little way above the table as she worked. For the baby was working with the others, putting together the apple blossom petals into natural looking blooms such as that moment were rioting in thousands of country orchards, dropping in pink and white showers on little children like these, who laughed and romped under the trees, as these children could never laugh, while orioles sang and tilted, and sunshine flooded the earth.

No one, woman or child, raised an eye from the work when Miss Margaret opened the door, yet they seemed to know who it was and they greeted her with a faint echo of pleasure in their dull voices.

"Is that you?" said the woman.

"It is I, and I've brought a little girl to see what wonderful things can be done by fingers far smaller than hers," said Miss Margaret gently. She pushed aside some of the petals and laid a bag of oranges on the table.

"Oh, nonges," cried the baby, but still she did not stop her work for an instant, nor look up.

"Please set 'em off, Miss Alton," said the woman. "We can't mix our work. Or you set 'em over there, Kitty."

"I will," said Miss Margaret, and did so.

Natalie heard herself sob and was frightened by it, but she suddenly discovered that Kitty, the little girl who must have been about seven, had a crutch leaning against her chair.

The oldest girl looked up at the sound, but instantly looked down again.

"It's tough," is all she said.

"Miss Margaret, they can't do this all the time, every day?" cried Natalie, suddenly turning on Miss Margaret as if these flower-makers were not there.

"Every day, from early morning till bed time, by this dim daylight and by the light of that small lamp," said Miss Margaret gently.

"Don't you—don't you go out doors? Don't you go to school? Oh, don't you ever play?" cried Natalie in horror, trying to realize what this could mean.

The Baby Works with the Others.

"We do our buyin' late nights. There ain't been time to let the children go to school—yet. I guess they don't play!" the mother replied for them.

"That—that little, little thing, too?" stammered Natalie.

"She's pretty smart," said the mother. "She's worked this six months. She's some over four, Gladie is."

"Oh, Gladie! Glad!" cried Natalie, with a choke in her voice. "How many dollars a day can you all make?"

"Gee, dollars!" cried the boy. "Listen at her! Mother and Maime and me make fifteen cents, some days, each of us does, and Kitty can make ten, if she digs in good, and the kid makes five. Fifty or sixty cents when it goes good."

"Oh! Miss Margaret, Miss Margaret! Look how I spend for candy and soda!" cried Natalie.

"I know, dear. You never thought there were little children workers, you know," Miss Margaret comforted her.

"I guess Miss Margaret's doin' you a good turn, little girl," said the mother. "She's done us the many a one. It's bad to grow up not knowin'. You get to school; my children know what books don't learn 'em. It's sore learnin'. They work all day, every day, the whole year through. They don't once get out into the air, not the real air. They're gettin' bad eyes at it. I can't half feed 'em right. Gladys' gettin' weaker; she's too little. But they work good. Half a dollar a day among us. It keeps us. Pretty often Kitty gets sick. Her back's bad since she fell for me, when she wan't more'n two. She gets lamer. City doctor, he says it's workin' steady with her back bad. Can't be helped. It's bad enough to be old's I am workin'—but children! Hadn't ought to be so, but so 'tis. Sometimes I think how queer 'tis, now in spring, making apple blossoms in the dark, little tads like these, when off somewheres there's real apple blossoms smellin' all over, and birds and sunshine and country children, or rich folks' children like you, enjoyin' it all. I was in the country myself when I was this age; I know what 'tis. Even up in the park it's grand, but there ain't time to go there. Sometimes I wonder what God, who made the flowers and children, thinks of men who keep little things like Gladie and lame Kitty at it, with their wee fingers, all day, every day, in the dark, to earn five cents. But I hadn't ought to talk about it; before the little girl, I mean. She's all done up from us, Miss Alton."

"I'll take her home," said Miss Margaret. "But I hope she will remember till the day comes when she can help." She put her arms around Natalie and wiped her hot cheeks, for Natalie was crying tempestuously.

"Let me help now, a little," begged Natalie, choking back her sobs and hunting for her little silver mesh bag. She emptied its contents on the table, quite a little pile of silver coins.

"For Kitty and the baby. And do, *please* do stop just one day and take them somewhere to see apple blossoms," she begged.

Then Miss Margaret and Natalie went away and the sad eyes of the little creatures around the table were lifted in farewell, for Natalie's silver had purchased them the right to steal one instant for a grateful glance of good-bye. The gray-pale, little faces smiled wanly and the high, weak voices said good-bye with something like affection in their tones. Natalie seemed to these children a lovely vision from another world; they were moved to love her, but it was a dull, dim motion of the hearts. Little hearts that beat in half-fed, weary bodies, cramped behind sides daily bent over unchildish tasks, cannot throb quickly, even to love and gratitude.

Before the door had closed behind them, Natalie, looking back, saw that all the children and the mother were at work as if they had not been interrupted, little misnamed Gladys putting together the spring petals with her tiny, thin fingers like the rest.

At home again, Natalie threw her hat and coat on a chair and herself upon a couch and gave herself up to crying as though her heart would break. Wisely, Miss Margaret did not attempt to console her; she let her cry, knowing that it was a relief to the little girl's first agonized horror in realizing how cruelly life bears upon some little children from the first hour that it is given to them.

At last Natalie began to sob less violently. She dried her eyes and lay quiet for a little while and Miss Margaret stroked her hair, waiting for her.

"To think I called this stuffy!" sighed Natalie at last, looking around her beautiful chamber with its countless luxuries, its comfort, its cool, shaded windows, its spaces, and on to the marble tiled bathroom that was her own.

"Miss Margaret, O! Miss Margaret," Natalie cried suddenly, sitting erect. "It is horrible! We are all in a Christian land, we aren't heathens! And our Lord said: 'Suffer little children to come unto me!' We aren't letting them, are we?"

Miss Margaret shook her head. "They have no chance to learn to come, such little ones as we have seen, Natalie," she said gently.

"What can we do? What can *I* do? If you hadn't thought I could do, you wouldn't have taken me there," Natalie implored her.

"Help now, with money. You have a good deal to spend, Natalie, but even if you had but little you could share it with the little beings who are slaves as truly as those our fathers fought to set free," said Miss Margaret. "Send money to those who work to get laws passed to keep for the children some tiny bit of childhood. There are people working hard to free our dear land from the awful stain of child labor. Help them, give to them. And by and by, dear, when you are old enough, use the influence and power that will be yours to right this monstrous wrong."

"It sounds like being a knight, a girl knight, to fight for the helpless," cried Natalie, her eyes kindling.

"My fine little Natalie!" cried Miss Margaret, "I knew you were true blue! That is precisely what it is, a fight for the weak, and, girl or boy, no knight of old fought in a better cause than this!"

"I'm going to save my candy money—not all of it," added Natalie, honestly, "but half, maybe, and send it to save children from—O! Miss Margaret," Natalie interrupted herself with a sudden thought. "I'll try right away to help, but by and by I can do lots more. Won't it be as if this were the blossom time, and by and by will be the fruit? Begin with the children that I saw making apple blossoms and go on and on till, some day, everywhere, there can be no more little crippled Kitties and baby Gladyses working and working in the dark?"

"Yes, dear; just like that. Now the blossom, then the fruit. And the fruit shall be all little children set free to play with the blossoms in the sun," said sweet Miss Margaret, kissing Natalie's glowing face.

Marion Ames Taggart.

The Avaricious A's, the Banner B's and the Capable C's

ROBABLY there are some among our readers who want to leave school and go to work; and no matter how much has been said to them about school being best because they can do better work and earn higher wages if they wait and learn more, they still plan to begin work the very day they reach the legal age.

Also, there are others who have no choice in the matter, for they know that their wages will be needed for the support of their families.

I could give both of these a great many very good reasons why they are making a big mistake in leaving school; but instead, I am going to tell them some stories. The first is from a book a good deal more than two hundred years old, and just as nearly as I can I shall tell it in the old-fashioned words of this old-fashioned book. It is about a man who was being shown around by a guide called the Interpreter.

"The Interpreter took him by the hand and had him into a little room, where sat two little children, each one in his chair. The name of the oldest was Passion and the name of the other, Patience. Passion seemed to be much discontented but Patience was very quiet.

Then the man asked, "What is the reason of the discontent of Passion?" The Interpreter answered, "Their Teacher would have him stay for his best things till the beginning of the next year, but he will have all now; but Patience is willing to wait."

Then One came in to Passion and brought him a bag of treasure and poured it down at his feet, the which he took up and rejoiced therein and, withal, laughed Patience to scorn. But when they beheld but a while, he had lavished it all away.

Then said the man, "Now I see that Patience hath the best wisdom, and that on many accounts. First, because he stays for the best things. Second and also, because he will have the glory of his when the other hath nothing but rags. Therefore Passion had not so much reason to laugh at Patience, because he had his

good things first, as Patience will have to laugh at Passion, because he had his best things last."

Now let me tell you another story to show how this old, old tale comes true in these days.

There were Arthur, and Andrew, and Albert, and Annie, and Alice, and some hundreds of children whose real names I don't know; and so we will call them the A children. But I know something about them much more important than their names; for this is a true story and happened in these United States not very long ago.

The A children all left school at 14, which in their State was just as soon as they could get working papers. Of course, they didn't know very much, so they had to take poorly paid places where the work was very simple—just doing the same sort of thing over and over again. They got very tired of that work and wanted more wages, so they changed from factory to factory, but it was always the same. They didn't know enough to get better places and better pay, and only a very few of them could even get positions where they had the chance to learn how to do better paid work.

Thus the A children kept on as unskilled laborers and found that even when grown up they couldn't get much better wages, and that they were fast forgetting what they had learned at school and worst of all, that when hard times came they were the first ones out of a job.

When the A children left school they had laughed at Ben and Bud and Bert and Betty and Bertha—in fact, at all the B children because the B children wouldn't leave school to go to work but said they meant to stay till they were 16, and learn all they could, and take some special courses so as to get good paying positions when they did go to work. When the B children were 16 they at once got better pay than the A children had ever had, and by the time the B children had worked two years they had been able to make more money than the A children had made by working four years.

Thus it happened that when the As and the Bs were all of them 18, the Bs had a nice little sum coming to them, and were rising from good positions to better, with higher pay, and were learning more all the time, for they were skilled workers. But the poor As were standing still or even going backwards, and all because they wouldn't stay at school.

This is a true story, for an exact account was kept of these As and Bs by people who wanted to find out if staying at school really paid.

But there was another set of children—Charles, Christopher, Clara and many more. They were the C children, who had to go to work whether they wanted to or not. Now, when learned men and women want to learn a good deal more than they have the money to pay for, they work hard to get what is called a Scholarship and it is considered a very fine thing to get one. You hear it said, "So and So has gotten a Scholarship at Columbia, or Harvard, or Barnard, or Radcliffe;" and he or she is thought much of because of it.

So some people decided to start Scholarships for Public School children also; and now if a family is so badly off that it can't get along without the wages of the children, the children can earn these wages by going to school and being punctual, well behaved, and diligent in study, so that they get high marks all along the line.

It may be nobody's fault that these C children need the Scholarships. So many things happen to use up money, or perhaps their parents have been A children and never could earn much; then if *their* children, too, have to be A children they will always be poor, and so will THEIR children after them. But if they can become C children they will have as good a chance to get along as the Bs.

Now remember, the As are the Avaricious children, who love money more than knowledge and wisdom, and are just like Passion. But the Bs are the Banner children, who always keep climbing higher. And the Cs are the Capable children who help support their families and climb higher at the same time. Thus both Bs and Cs are like Patience.

So, just as in the old, old story I told you first, *we* say of these children,

"Therefore the As have not so much reason to laugh at the Bs and Cs because they themselves had their good things first, as the Bs and Cs will have to laugh at the As because they themselves had their best things last."

Each of you is either an Avaricious A, a Banner B, or a Capable C, and I wonder which?

Lydia Hale Crane.

How Grandmother Changed Her Mind

(*A Playlet for Girls of* 15 *to* 16)

GRANDMA, *who is* Mrs. Caution, *a very old lady and deaf, walking with a cane.*

MRS. FEELING, *her granddaughter, a club woman.*

MRS. REASON, *a club woman.*

MRS. ARDENT, *a club woman.*

BETTY, *about ten,* Mrs. Feeling's *daughter.*

BILL, *about eleven or twelve,* Mrs. Feeling's *son.*

(*Enter* GRANDMA, *leaning on her cane. She drops into a rocker and takes out her knitting.*)

GRANDMA It must be nearly time for Belinda to come back from her Club. Oh, here she comes now.

(*Enter* MRS. FEELING *with out-door things on. As she takes them off, she talks excitedly and shouts into* GRANDMA'S *ear*)

MRS. F. Oh, Grandma, I do think it is terrible, simply terrible and shocking about these poor children that work. Just think, Grandma, *children working!*

GRANDMA (*Energetically*) Why, my dear, I think it a very good thing for them. When I was a girl we were expected to work, and the mother who didn't teach her children to work, and to work properly, too, was considered a very poor specimen of a mother. I should say that the terrible thing these days is the way children *don't* work.

MRS. F. (*Stepping closer and speaking louder*) But, Grandma, you don't understand. These children don't work the way Bill and Betty work,—

GRANDMA (*Laughing and shaking her head at Mrs. F.*) Well, I should hope not! The way Bill and Betty work indeed! Why play is the only thing that Bill and Betty really work hard at, bless their merry little hearts!

MRS. F. (*Fiercely*) Well, I'm glad of it! And they shall play all they want to, and more, too, if they want to, if only to make up for these poor children who never play!

GRANDMA "Never play!" Don't tell me, child! All children play. A child that didn't play would never amount to a row of pins. Play is born in them, just like in kittens. And nobody can help its leaking out. All the parents and teachers will tell you so.

MRS. F. But these children don't go to school.

GRANDMA What! Not go to school? Little truants, are they?

MRS. F. No, they are kept from school to work,—thousands of them.

GRANDMA (*Dropping her knitting in her lap and looking over her specs and speaking severely*) Belinda, if that is the sort of stuff you hear at your club, I advise you to stay away from it. I know there are some silly parents who don't care to have their children educated, and there are foolish children who would rather grow up dunces than go to school. But thousands of them! Why, Belinda, how can you swallow all that nonsense?

MRS. F. (*Very fast*) But, Grandma, the speaker gave figures, and facts and *pictures* into the bargain!

GRANDMA (*Holding her hand cup-fashion around her ear*) "The speaker pitched into the barn?" Belinda, when you get excited I can't understand a word you say.

(*A knock at the door.* MRS. F. *opens it and a lady in outdoor wraps enters.*)

MRS. F. Oh, Mrs. Reason, I'm so glad to see you! I can't make Grandma understand about the working children. Won't you tell her?

MRS. REASON (*Shaking Grandma's hand*) I am delighted to see you looking so well, Mrs. Caution. I only hope I shall be as hale and hearty when I am your age.

GRANDMA Well, Mrs. Reason, it was a proper amount of work, properly done when a child, that built up my constitution.

MRS. R. I'm sure, Mrs. Caution, you're right. If children were taught habits of industry and if children who expect to earn their living with their hands were taught how to use their hands right, there would be far less unskilled labor swelling the army of the unemployed.

(*Another knock at the door, which* MRS. F. *opens to admit another lady in out-door wraps.*)

MRS. F. Oh, Mrs. Ardent, how good of you to run in!

MRS. ARDENT Didn't we have a wonderful meeting to-day, Mrs. Feeling?

MRS. F. Yes, and we're trying to tell Grandma about it.

MRS. A. (*Bowing and smiling to Mrs. Reason, and going toward Grandma*) Oh, Mrs. Caution, it was the most heart-rending exposition!

GRANDMA "Hard-ending exhibition" was it? Well, what of? What of?

MRS. F. The children who work.

MRS. R. The children who ARE WORKED.

MRS. A. Child labor in factories, and mills, and canneries, and coal-breakers, and—

MRS. F. Children working ten and eleven hours a day, and—

MRS. R. Children being worked at oyster shucking, as young as five years old, night or day, just as the cargoes happen to come in; and—

MRS. A. And without any time limitation. Think of it; just kept at it and at it and at it.

GRANDMA (*Sitting up excitedly*) "Children working day and night at oyster *sucking!*" My goodness! They'll have typhoid!

MRS. F. (*Shouting in her ear*) Oyster *shucking, shucking,* Grandma. Getting the shells off, you know, for packing the oysters in kegs for market.

GRANDMA Oh, "shucking!" Yes, of course. But that's very hard on the hands, isn't it?

MRS. R. It is, indeed. But not as hard as shrimp picking, which the children do also. The part that has to be taken out in shrimp picking contains a fluid which makes the fingers sore.

GRANDMA But where are the children's mothers?

MRS. F. Working with them and keeping them up to their work. It's horrible of them, but they don't seem to know any better.

MRS. R. Then, there are the night boys in the glass factories, 2,000 in Pennsylvania and West Virginia who work from 7 in the evening 'till 5 in the morning.

GRANDMA But children should be in bed at night. I was always taught that we got all our beauty sleep before twelve o'clock.

MRS. A. That is the dreadful thing about Child Labor, that no one seems to care about the *children,* but only about the dollars and cents. The employers think of the cheap wages and the parents, of the tiny extra income.

MRS. R. Even the children themselves learn to consider money the chief end of living. And the folly of both parents and children is that they are so eager to get the starvation wages a child can earn at the simplest sort of unskilled monotonous labor, that they forget how much better wages could be earned later if the children were kept at school.

MRS. A. How can a child who has left one of the lower grades in school to go to work ever again get a chance to learn enough to command really good wages?

GRANDMA To be sure, to be sure! "Penny wise, pound foolish!"

MRS. F. And in one state it is allowed by *law* to put a child in the mill as young as ten years, if the child happens to be an orphan or has a disabled father. Just think if I had put Betty into a mill last winter when her father broke his leg!

MRS. A. Mrs. Caution, over 2,000,000 children are wage-earners in this country. All are under sixteen. Most of them are allowed by law to begin at fourteen and thousands begin very much younger, even when it is against the law.

MRS. R. The largest portion of them are shut up in factories for 8, 9, 10, 11 and sometimes more hours a day. Always with the whirr and clatter of machinery in their ears and dust in their lungs, and often among rough, evil companions. A far larger proportion of working children than of school children from the same grades of life get into the reform schools and jails.

MRS. F. Besides, there are the children in the tenement houses making artificial flowers, and heaps and heaps of other things.

(*The door flies open and a little girl of ten runs up to* MRS. FEELING.)

BETTY Oh, mother, need I pick out any more bastings? I'm *so* tired!

MRS F. (*Putting her arm around her*) How long have you been at it, my darling?

BETTY The longest half hour I ever lived, mother!

MRS. A. Betty, there are little girls younger than you that have to pick out bastings for hours and hours. Their mothers work at finishing off men's coats and trousers, and their children have to pull the bastings out before they go to school, and then right away after they come home. If they are too young to go even to the kindergarten, they have to pick bastings all day long.

BETTY But when do they play and pick flowers?

MRS. R. They don't have any time to play, Betty. And as for flowers, there are children so busy making artificial flowers that they never get a chance to pick real flowers.

(*The door flies open and a boy between eleven and twelve runs in*)

BILL. I say, mater, need I shovel snow [*or rake leaves, or pick peas, or pull weeds, or sort apples or potatoes, or whatever other work happens to be appropriate to*

time and place] any more? I've done bushels, I guess; and I'm tired to death!

How long did it take you, Bill?

Just as long as Betty, Great-grandma.

Well, there are hundreds of boys who have to work all day long in the coal breakers, sitting on hard board benches, and bending over the coal as it rushes past. They have to pick the stones and slate out of it; and their noses and throats get full of coal dust.
(*With a long whistle*) That's worse than going to school.

MRS. R. and MRS. A. Much worse, Bill.

Well, anyway, I've worked 'till I'm too tired to move!

And I am, too. Just too tired to move a muscle!

(*Laughing*) You poor children! Yes, you may go and play now.

Hi, Betty, catch me if you can!
(*They race off the stage.*)

GRANDMA It looks as if they were too tired to move!

THE OTHERS (*Laughing*) It certainly does.

GRANDMA But all this you have been telling me is dreadful! I didn't know such cruelty could exist in this land of the free. Is nothing being done about it?

MRS. R. Yes, the National Child Labor Committee is trying to get laws against it all over the country. But progress is awfully slow—so few people are in earnest about it.

GRANDMA You say "people are hot as a furnace about it?" They have a good right to be! Why, what's Uncle Sam thinking about to let all his little boys and girls get worked out this way? What will they be good for when they grow up if they haven't schooling, or trades, or strong constitutions, or anything else that makes them worth having for citizens? What's to become of our own Bills and Bettys if these are the

sort of fellow citizens they'll have to reckon with when they grow up? Belinda, aren't you going to do anything about this? And you, Mrs. Reason, and all of you? Don't you *care* if your boys and girls have these ignorant, untrained boys and girls to deal with when they are all men and women together?

ALL. Of course we do!

GRANDMA. But *what are you going to do about it? Everyone of us must do something and do it quick!* (*Rises from her chair*) Belinda, get my hat and coat right away. I'm going down to Washington this very minute to tell Uncle Sam what I think of him. (*As she speaks she emphasizes her words with her cane on the floor.*) I rather guess he'll find he has to "sit up and take notice" when I get at him! Boys and girls taking the places of men in the factories, and keeping the men out of work! A pretty pass things are coming to! And the children only getting starvation wages at that! It wasn't so in *my days!* The children learned at home to work—I say, Belinda, where's my hat? I'm going to Washington!

MRS. F. Oh, Grandma!

MRS. R. and A. Oh, Mrs. Caution!

(*Considerable confusion, while they hold on to the old lady, saying, "Oh, don't, oh, don't!" and she cries, "I WILL, I WILL!"*)

MRS. R. I will tell you a better way, Mrs. Caution. You send in your subscription to the Child Labor Committee and be made a member. With the names and money from thousands of members they can make Uncle Sam "sit up and take notice" much better than if each one of us went by herself.

MRS. F. Then, too, you can write letters to the legislators, Grandma.

MRS. A. Why, even our children could do that—write a letter and all sign it, asking Congress and the state legislatures to stop this cruel child labor. Surely they would listen to little children, pleading for other children.

GRANDMA Well, if I join the Committee, will you all join, too?

ALL. I will, I will.

GRANDMA Will you each get ten more to join?

ALL. Yes, yes.

GRANDMA Then you'd better get at it *now*. I'm going right up to my room to write a letter to Uncle Sam that'll make his hair stand on end!

(*They go out together helping* MRS. CAUTION.)

Lydia Hale Crane

The Story of the Medicine Bottle*

Georgie was in bed feeling very uncomfortable and what made him more uncomfortable still was to see the big bottle of medicine standing on the table by his bed. At last he said fiercely,

"Mr. Medicine Bottle, I am going to smash you!"

"Oh, please don't, Georgie," cried the Bottle, "I have had such a hard life of it and besides, you must remember, I had to take every drop of your medicine before a single teaspoonful was given to you!"

"That's true," said Georgie, "I hadn't thought of that. But tell me about your hard life."

"Well," and the Bottle spoke slowly, "I don't think, after all, my life was as hard as the boys' lives."

"What boys?" asked Georgie.

"All the boys excepting you that I've known. Yes, Georgie, all the boys I have known would be glad enough to be in your place.

The Glass Factory where Medicine Bottle was born.

* Reprinted from CHILD LABOR BULLETIN, Vol. II, No. 2, August, 1913.

Fourteen year old boys work all night in the glass factories of Pennsylvania and West Virginia. All other important glass manufacturing states have forbidden night work under the age of 16, and census figures show that the industry has prospered under this restriction.

You needn't look as if you didn't believe me; for those boys often felt sick enough, but there was no soft bed for them. No, indeed, only the same work day or night as it happened to be. But I'll begin at the beginning. I became a member of the Bottle family in a dark and dirty factory in West Virginia, and it was in that same dark and dirty factory that the boys had to stay for eight and nine hours at a stretch, one week in the daytime, when you, sir, would be going to school or playing; and the next week in the night-time, when you would be sleeping in such a nice soft bed as not one of them ever lay down in.

The Furnace where Medicine Bottle first found himself melting hot.

"The first I knew about myself, I was hot, just blazing, melting, white hot; and a man caught me up on a long iron tube, all melted as I was, and jammed me into an iron mold. A boy was sitting down close to the mold to shut it and steady it. And his face was close enough to me to get the heat as I passed by, and I saw a big scar where once some hot glass had hit his cheek. All the time that

The "Mold Boy."

the man was blowing me into shape the mold boy sat cramped up with the heat pouring into his face. And he had to do that hour after hour for my brothers and sisters as well. When I was shaped, he opened the mold and another boy took me out and carried me to what they call the 'glory hole' to have my neck melted into a good shape when the tube had been broken away. The fire at the 'glory hole' was blinding bright for the boy's eyes, and almost blistering hot for his face.

The Snapping-up Boy carrying Medicine Bottle to the "Glory Hole."

"I saw another boy take the tube the man had blown through, and knock off the pieces of glass that stuck to it.

"The glass broke into small flakes and was bright and sparkling as it flew through the air. But it was very bad for the boys to breathe, and often got into their eyes and hurt so much they had to stop work to get it out. Working in the hot factory made them catch cold easily, too, and they often were sick with bad coughs."

"It's very tiring to cough," said Georgie, who knew all about it, for he had been doing it a good deal.

"Yes," said Mr. Medicine Bottle, "but they had to keep on working just the same.

The Cleaning-off Boy knocking the Pieces of Glass **off the Blower's Tube.**

"Then another boy took me on a sort of shovel with a lot of my relatives, and ran with us to a hot, hot oven which was cooled down

The Carrying-in Boy carrying Medicine Bottle on the Shovel.

very slowly. For if we had cooled too quickly we would have snapped into a thousand pieces. This boy had to be very careful,

The Leer or Hot Oven, where Medicine Bottle cooled down slowly.

for other boys were running back and forth to the oven, and once two boys ran into each other, and their bottles flew all over and

Lunch at Midnight.

bits of hot glass cut and burned them. There was broken glass on the floor, too, and I saw that the boys had their shoes all cut up, and one little fellow's foot was bleeding.

"There was just one glad time,—when the whistle blew at midnight. Then the boys would get out their lunch with oh, such happy shouts of relief, and enjoy it with an hour's rest before they must go back to work again.

The Packing Room where Medicine Bottle was packed for Shipment.

"When we had cooled down we were given to another boy, who packed us into a box for shipment.

"But while I was in the oven I saw and heard a good deal about the boys. No matter how their backs ached with stooping over the mold, or how their eyes smarted at the 'glory hole,' or how tired their feet were, running back and forth to the ovens, whatever they were doing they had to keep on doing it.

"At last when it was time for the night boys to go home, they were often so tired that they dropped down in a little heap in some corner of the factory and went to sleep there. Sometimes they were too afraid to go home in the dark, for their work would stop at perhaps about three o'clock, before sunrise; and in the cold nights it was awfully hard to run out of the factory heat into the winter winds and storms.

"One boy whom I liked was Joe. He had to slink to the factory with a dry lunch in his pocket, because, when he carried a pail, the people who didn't want such a little fellow sent to the factory knew by the pail that he was working and tried to stop it. The men used to send Joe to the near-by saloon to get beer for them. He never went to school, tho' he used to say, 'No, I ain't been yet, but I'm a goin' ter learn somethin' soon.' Poor Joe, I'm afraid he never will.

Joe.

"Then there was poor, thin, tired looking little Jake. Oh, Georgie, if you could see him you would say as quick as a wink, 'When I get to be a man, I'll see to it that the Jakes and the Joes and all the other boys have a chance to play, to go to school, to sleep, not to work—at night—and to grow well and strong.'"

"You bet!" shouted Georgie. "When I'm a man I won't let them make the children work like that, no, siree, sir!"

Jake.

The Story of My Cotton Dress*

I HAVE HAD another accident! A big tear in my pretty new dress. This time *I* want to mend it. When we went to Atlanta, Georgia, a few weeks ago, and saw the beautiful white cotton fields, mother told me how little boys and girls must help make most of the stuff used for our dresses. I used to think all other children had good times, and that going to school was very hard. Now I know better.

The Cotton Field. UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

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* Reprinted from the CHILD LABOR BULLETIN, Vol. II, No. 2, August, 1913.

Alabama, North and South Carolina and Georgia, 4 large textile producing states, permit children 12 years old to work in the cotton mills, and Georgia's law permits them to begin at 10 years of age when they are orphans or have dependent parents. Even these weak laws are evaded or violated through lack of proper inspection. The U. S. Census on Manufactures, 1910, shows 26,794 children under 16 at work in Southern cotton mills.

The 1910 report of the U. S. Commissioner of Labor, on the Condition of Woman and Child Wage Earners in the U. S. (Senate Document 645) showed that 45 per cent. of cotton mill workers under 16 years old, in six Southern states, were unable to read and write.

Spinning from one Bobbin to another.

I appreciate my dresses more since I know that from the very beginning when the cotton is ripe in the hot sun, little boys and girls must pick it for my dresses, while their backs grow tired and their heads ache.

Mother also took me to a cotton mill, on that trip. I saw how the cotton bolls are brought to the mill and the fluffy soft white mass is combed and then spun from one bobbin to another, until it is the finest thread, like the ravelings from the tear in my new dress.

The bobbins whirl around on large frames in the spinning room.

Little girl "spinners" walk up and down the long aisles, between the frames, watching the bobbins closely. When a thread breaks, the spinner must quickly tie the two ends together. Some people think that only children can do this quickly enough, but that is not so, for in a great many mills only grown-ups work.

The Spinner.

Mary.

Mary is one of the spinners. She was very sad. Standing all day long, she said, had broken down the arch of her foot and made her flatfooted, which is very painful.

Some people say it is good for the girls and boys to work—that all children should be industrious. But they do not stop to think that there is a right and a wrong kind of work for little girls and boys. Spinning for a little while a day *could be made* the right kind, but work in a spinning room from 7 o'clock in the morning until 6 o'clock at night *is* the wrong kind. It keeps the children out

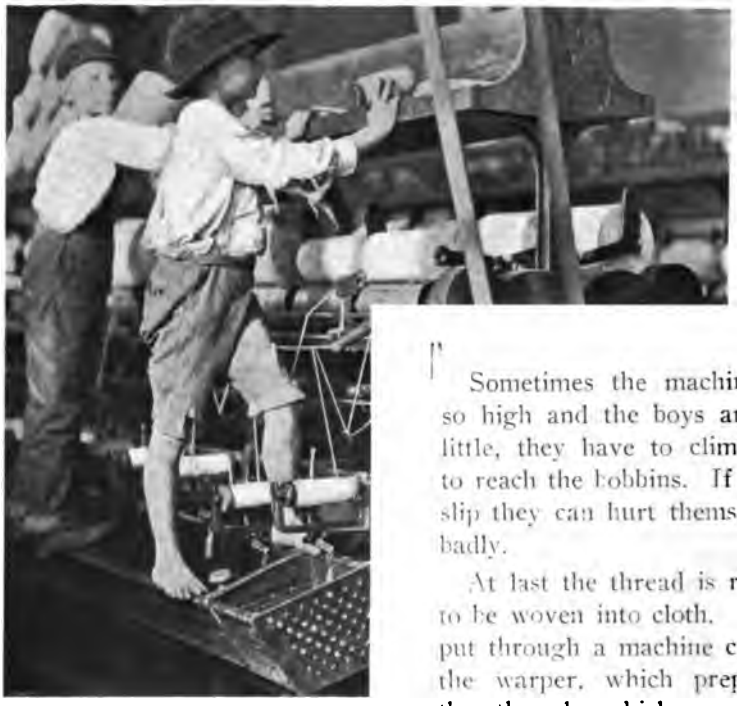
The Green Fields.

of school, it gives them no chance to play, and they cannot grow strong. Many spinning rooms have their windows closed all day, because the rooms must be kept damp or the threads will break. Now, like growing plants, growing girls and boys need fresh air as well as light and sunshine. But there are more than a million children in this country who do not have fresh air, or play, or school because they are working. And of these there are enough in the cotton mills to make a big cityful.

The Doffer.

When a bobbin is filled, the "doffer boy" comes along, takes it off the spinning frame and puts an empty bobbin in its place.

Many doffer boys and girl spinners grow up without learning to read or write, and without even hearing of George Washington.



They Climb upon the Machine.

Sometimes the machine is so high and the boys are so little, they have to climb up to reach the bobbins. If they slip they can hurt themselves badly.

At last the thread is ready to be woven into cloth. It is put through a machine called the warper, which prepares the threads which run the length of the goods. I think the hardest work the girls in the mill did was to thread every one of these warp threads through a tiny hole to prepare them for the loom that weaves the cloth.

The Warper.

"Surely, mother," I said when we left the cotton mill, "little girls can't do any more work for a dress."

"Ah, yes, dear," she said, "it is in the making of the dress itself that little girls take a big part. The cloth you saw woven is sent to factories in other large cities. It is cut into dresses that are carried in bundles into tenement homes. And such homes! Often only one or two rooms for the whole family to cook and eat and sleep and sew in. Mothers sew the dresses, while their little girls help draw out the basting threads and sew on the buttons.

"Not long ago I read the story about Rose, nine years old, who sews buttons on little girls' dresses. Her mother used to make dolls' dresses, and Rose had to snip them apart. She grew so tired of doing this for dolls for other little girls to play with, when she had no doll herself and when she wanted to read fairy stories, that what do you think she did? She snipped into the dolls' dresses with the scissors! So now her mother makes big dresses, for little girls, and Rose cannot use the scissors, but must work with a needle. She sews on 36 buttons to earn 4 cents."

Rose.

"The scallops of the embroidery trimming little girls like so well for their dresses," mother continued, "are cut out by children in tenement houses. These little girls generally go to school, but often fall asleep over their lessons because they worked long after bedtime the night before, and an hour or two before school in the morning.

Cutting out Embroidery in a Tenement Home.

Pulling Ribbons through Garments in a Tenement Home.

"The pretty ribbon trimmings are pulled through the dresses by children in still other tenement homes. You see, their mothers do not mean to be cruel, but they must pay rent and buy coal and bread and shoes with the money the children can earn. More cruel than these poor mothers were the people who, when the fathers were little boys, made them do work that taught them nothing; for now the fathers do not know how to earn enough money, and they are idle while the children work.

"If only everybody cared, and would not buy things that children make, the factory men would give the work to the fathers and not to the children."

Mr. Coal's Story*

Mr. Coal.

Our warm friend, Mr. Coal of Pennsylvania, tells us:

I lay snug and comfortable for many years, way down in the middle of a large mountain, until I grew into a great big coal.

The Miners at Work.

One day a sharp steel pick cut through the rocks and I was pulled down from my bed and fell to the ground. All was so dark,

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* Reprinted from the CHILD LABOR BULLETIN, Vol. II, No. 2, August, 1913.

6,968 boys under 16 years of age were reported in the 1910 Census as employed in and about the coal mines of the country. Though the hazard to young children in this dangerous employment is very generally recognized, the large coal mining states Alabama, West Virginia, Tennessee, Missouri and Michigan prohibit this work only under 14 years. The recent mine explosion at Eccles, West Virginia, proved fatal to five little 14 year old boys. Work in the coal breakers of Pennsylvania, where anthracite is cleaned, is permitted by law to boys of 14 and over, although state reports show that the accidents to boys under 16 in this employment are 300 per cent. higher than to those above 16.

I could have seen nothing if it had not been for tiny lamps which two men wore in their caps. The men were miners, digging for coal.

My former neighbor, old Mr. Wise Coal, soon fell beside me. He used to tell about the great world outside, where every one, to be really good, must make someone else happy. When he heard the picks he said, "We are going there now, and we will make some children and grown-ups warm and comfortable. But I am sad when I think of the little boys who must help take us there. Watch to see what happens and you will understand."

A Coal Car.

A coal car, drawn by mules, came along. I thought they must be men, who threw us in and drove the mules; but on looking closely I found that one of them was a boy about 12 years old. My companion shook his head. "It is only half past seven o'clock in the morning. Boys of his age should be eating breakfast and getting ready for school," he said.

Driving through the mine we came to a big trap door. "When men work in mines, air is forced in to them from the outside," said old Mr. Wise Coal. "The trap doors must be kept closed so that

Tke Open Trap Door.

the air will go where the men are working. Boys open and close these trap doors for the cars to pass from one chamber to the other. They are called trapper boys.

The Lonely Trapper Boy.

John.

"Look back and see how lonely this one is. I heard him cough and tell one of the drivers that medicine didn't help him anymore. The mine was so damp, he always got a new cold."

The next trapper boy we passed was John. John wanted to go to school but his parents made him work. They didn't know that he could earn better wages later, if he went to

A Slate Fall.

James, A Greaser.

are buried there," he said, "they often get killed in that way."

As we came out of the mine we met James. They call him "a greaser" because he has to keep the axles of the car greased so that they run smoothly. He had grease all over himself and his clothes.

Next we met Harry. He does odd jobs about the mine. When he first started at work, he wanted to go to school, but now he does not care. He is too tired to think about it, even.

school now. The trap door was the nearest thing to a blackboard he had, so he drew pictures on that. John liked birds, and couldn't see any out-of-doors, because it was after dark evenings when he left the mine. So he drew them on the trap door, and played they were alive and he wrote on the door, "Don't scare the birds!" and this was all the fun he had.

When we passed a place where the roof had caved in, old Mr. Wise Coal shuddered. "I hope no boys and men

Harry, a General Utility Boy.

The Coal Breaker.

At last our car full of coal came to a building, called a "coal breaker." Here the coal was put into great machines, and broken into pieces the right size for burning.

The Breaker Boys at Work.

Then the pieces rattled down through long chutes, at which the breaker boys sat. These boys picked out the pieces of slate and stone that cannot burn. It's like sitting in a coal bin all day long, except that the coal is always moving and clattering and cuts their fingers. Sometimes the boys wear lamps in their caps to help them see through the thick dust. They bend over the chutes until their backs ache, and they get tired and sick because they have to breathe coal dust instead of good, pure air.

Pennsylvania Breaker Boys.

Hundreds and hundreds of boys work in the mines and in the breakers from early morning until evening, instead of going to school and playing outdoors.

Do you suppose the little fellows sitting all alone in the deep coal mine, or bending over the chutes, ever think of the merry children sitting around the burning coal?

The Children Round the Fire. BROWN BROS.

This bright room is better than the dark mine. The happy talk is better than the silence. The warm fire glow is better than the cold.

Do you suppose that the happy children made warm by the coal ever think of the boys who helped to get it ready for them?

Do they think of the children who make medicine bottles in glass factories and cotton dresses in mills and tenement homes?

What can these children who play around the fire do to help the boys and girls who work in mines and factories? They can do this:

They can ask their fathers and mothers to make laws to help these other children. Fathers and mothers can make laws. They know how to make laws that will help children. They also know how to make sure that the laws are obeyed.

Sometimes fathers and mothers are so busy taking care of their own children—the children round the fire at home—that they forget the others—the children in mines and factories. But we must not let them forget the other children. The most important matter in the world is, that all the children—*all the children*—shall grow up healthy and intelligent and good.

NOTE.—"The Story of the Medicine Bottle," "The Story of My Cotton Dress," and "Mr. Coal's Story," are reprinted from the CHILD LABOR BULLETIN, *August*, 1913, *at the request of a number of friends who were unable to obtain copies of that issue. We hope that they and our new readers may find the little stories as inspiring as did those who read them last summer.*—THE EDITOR.

An English Mill Child of 1834

A Fragment from "A MANCHESTER STRIKE."
BY HARRIET MARTINEAU.

ALLEN WALKED so rapidly as presently to overtake his little daughter Martha, who had left the factory somewhat earlier. He saw her before him for some distance, and observed how she limped and how feebly she made her way along the street which led to their abode. It was far from easy walking for the strongest. There were heaps of rubbish, pools of muddy water, stones and brickbats lying about, and cabbage leaves on which the unwary might slip and bones over which pigs were grunting and curs snarling. Little Martha, a delicate child of eight years old, tried to avoid all these obstacles, but she nearly slipped down several times, and started when the dogs came near her, and shivered every time the mild spring breeze blew in her face.

"Martha, how lame you are to-day!" said Allen, taking her around the waist to help her onward.

"O! father, my knees have been aching so all day I thought I should have dropped every minute."

"And one would think it was Christmas by your looks, Child, instead of a bright May day."

"It is very chill after the factory," said the little girl, her teeth still chattering. "Sure, the weather must have changed, father."

No, the wind was south, and the sky cloudless. It was only that the thermometer had stood at seventy-five within the factory.

"I suppose your wages are lowered as well as mine," said Allen. "How much do you bring home this week?"

"Only three shillings, father, and some say it will be less before long."

That evening Allen was sitting with some fellow operatives who were discussing the advisability of a strike on account of the reduction in wages, when Bray and his little daughter entered. Bray was formerly a spinner, but, having been proscribed by the "masters," was thrown out of his trade and reduced to getting his living as a strolling musician.

"How we have wondered," exclaimed Allen, "what had become of you and yours. Is that poor little Hannah that used to be so delicate?"

"The same that your good wife nursed through the measles. She would hardly know her now."

Allan shook his head.

"Ah, I see what you mean," said Bray, "you had rather see her covered with white cotton flakes than with yellow ribands; but remember that it is no fault of mine that she is not a piecer in yonder factory; and I don't know that I need call it my misfortune any more than my fault. Look how strong and plump she is! So much for living in the open air instead of being mewed up in a place like an oven. What can a man do," and looking round, he appealed to the company, "what can a proscribed man do but get his living so as not to have to ask for work?"

Little Hannah went home with Allen to spend Sunday, and Martha confided to her, "My father is going to show my knees to Mr. Dawson, the apothecary. Do look how they are swelled; and they ache so, you can't think!"

"O! but I can think, for mine used to ache terribly when I walked and stood before the wheels all day."

"But yours were never so bad as mine, or I am sure you could not dance about as you do."

"No, not so bad, to be sure; and my arms were never so shrunk away as yours. Look, my arm is twice as big as yours."

"I wonder what's the reason," sighed Martha. "Mother says I get thinner and thinner."

"You should have meat for dinner every day as I have," said Hannah, "and then you would grow fat like me. Father gets such good dinners for us compared to what we used to have. He says 'tis that and being in the air so much that prevents my being sickly as I used to be. I don't think that I could do the work I did with all that noise and the smell of oil, and the heat."

Before the operatives separated it was agreed that all employed below a certain standard of wages should turn out the next morning, but it was thought desirable that the children should earn as long as allowed to do so. Allen, much against his will, was appointed leader. He returned to his home oppressed with a sense of responsibility.

time were not their own. It would have amused some people and made others melancholy to watch the sports of these town-bred children. One little girl was seen making a garden—that is, boring a hole between two flints in a yard with a rusty pair of scissors, and inserting therein a daisy which by some rare chance had fallen into her hands. Others collected the fragments of broken plates and teacups from the kennels, and spread them out for a mock feast where there was nothing to eat. The favorite game was playing at being cotton spinners; a big boy frowning and strutting and impersonating the master, another with a switch in his hand being the overlooker, and the rest, spinners or piecers, each trying which could be the naughtiest and get the most threats and scoldings.

Hannah Bray took pains to stir up her little neighbors to what she called play. She coaxed her father into giving them a ball and tried to teach the children in the next yard to play hide-and-seek, but she often said she never before saw such helpless and awkward people. They could not throw a ball five feet from them, or else flung it into one another's faces so as to cause complaint and crying-fits. In hiding, they always showed themselves, or came out too soon, or not soon enough, or jostled and threw one another down, and they were the worst runners that could be conceived. Any one of them trying to catch Hannah looked like a duck running after a greyhound. Hannah began with laughing at them all around, but observing that her father watched their play with tears in his eyes, she afterwards contented herself with wondering in silence why some children were so unlike others.

The strike failed, and Allen, proscribed because its nominal leader, was reduced to watering and sweeping the streets for a livelihood. His children grew up one after another to be employed in the factory, while their father toiled in the streets with his water cart in summer and his broom in winter, enduring to be pointed out to strangers as the leader of an unsuccessful strike, as long as his family were not included with himself in the sentence of proscription.

Editor's Note.—The italicized passages are not Miss Martineau's. They were written to better connect the passage reprinted from her longer story.

The Present Day American Mill Child

The Factory and the Child

THE WALLS trembling with the ceaseless, regular throbs of great and intricate machinery; the maze of shaftings, pulleys, cogs; the odor of oil and perspiration; to this and to a thousand other factories, gather in from the fields and the streets, tens of thousands of children, strong and happy, or weak, underfed and miserable. Stop their play once for all, and put them out to labor for so many cents a day or night, and pace them with a tireless, lifeless piece of mechanism for ten or twelve hours at a stretch, and you will have a present-day picture of Child Labor.

One other thing is essential to a realization of the evil; the child must do one thing which is neither of educational value nor fitted to develop him; but, on the contrary, much more likely to dwarf and brutalize him. A vagrant whom I once knew, had for five years, from the day he was 11 until the day he was 16, made two movements of his hands each second, or 23,760,000 mechanical movements each year; and was at the time I knew him, at the age of 35, broken down, drunken and diseased; but he still remembered this period of slavery sufficiently well to tell me that he had "paid up" for all the sins he had ever committed "by those five years of hell."

But there is yet one thing which must be added to the picture. Give the child a tenement for a home in the filthy and muddy streets of an ordinary factory town, with open spaces covered with tin cans, bottles and old shoes, garbage and other waste, the gutters running sewers, the air foul with odors and black with factory smoke, and the picture is fairly complete.

The intensity of modern methods of work, made possible by the machine, sets a pace so fast and uninterrupted as to tax the strength of the strongest men, and naturally, therefore, to rack the weaker bodies of the children. Carlyle saw this half a century ago when he said to the owners of the cotton mills, "Deliver me these ricketty, perishing souls of infants, and let your cotton-trade take its chance."

England was once proud of this same business, and talked much of how good it was for her children to be at work and how much the children liked it; but latterly she has become concerned about the physical deterioration of her people, and has about decided to weigh and measure every workman in England to see how far she has been ruined by her cotton and other trades.

Many readers of Dickens will remember Muggleton, that 'ancient and loyal borough, mingling a zealous advocacy of Christian principles with a devoted attachment to commercial rights; in demonstration whereof, the mayor, corporation and other inhabitants have presented, at divers times, no fewer than 1420 petitions against the continuance of negro slavery abroad, and an equal number against any interference with the factory system at home!'"[1]

The Public and the Child

"This is the grotesque thing that history will have to say about our generation: 'These queer people overworked those who were employed and used their little children to produce commodity for the benefit of the social group, while an ever-continuing multitude of those who might have worked were left out of work on these two grounds.'

"Careful study of the character and condition of many of the unemployed reveals that a considerable percentage of these derelicts upon the sea of life were those overworked in childhood.

"Wicked as is the effect upon the boy, it is still more alarming in the case of the girl. The possible wife and mother has the reserved vitality of her womanhood stolen from her before that womanhood has dawned. It is the pledge of degeneration for the race in the next generation. Notwithstanding the laws, in coal mines and in cotton mills the life-blood of the race is being offered upon the altars of greed.

"Look at the question as it is. If the family were hungry, the community would be tremendously shocked to hear that they had killed one of the tender children to supply food for the rest. It is even more shocking, though we do not feel it so, when the child is consumed, soul and body, in doing work from which he should have been saved, because it prevents his development and ruins

[1] *Poverty*, by Robert Hunter, pp. 227, 229, 232, condensed.

his future. One child in a hundred may come through all these difficulties—but the success of these rare cases only emphasizes the common disasters which fall upon the rest." [2]

The Labor and the Child

Child Labor in Mills.

"The position while working is constrained, and backs grow tired from stooping before the long day draws to a close.

"The chief demand is constant watchfulness. Every thread must be mended as soon as it is broken, and a spinner has from 200 to 800 spindles to watch. No great demand is made upon the mental faculties, and the work is monotonous. The noise of the machinery, also, must have its effect upon the nerves, and indirectly upon the bodily well-being. Speaking broadly, the physical effect of the work is undoubtedly bad, though not all are affected unfavorably. Nevertheless, the confinement is enough to stunt the growth and lessen the vitality of a great number. This is particularly true of night-workers. Refreshing sleep during the daylight is difficult—and sometimes the children who finish their work at 6 in the morning are up again when the day workers return for their dinners at 12. It is not surprising that the children fall asleep over their tasks, and that the work is poorly done. Yet a majority of the children, perhaps, prefer the night shift on account of the few hours gained for play in the afternoon.

"The disadvantages of night work are recognized as many and serious. One manufacturer writes, 'Night work hurts worse morally than it does physically, and every sane man knows what a strain on the system night work is.' "[3]

The Employer and the Child

"In forty-four mills in North Carolina there were found working a total of eighty-seven little girls under 12 years, of whom twenty-one were respectively 7, 8 and 9 years old. In addition there were one hundred and fifteen boys under 12.

"Concerning one North Carolina mill an agent reported: 'I asked five exceptionally small ones how old each was, and each answered, "I don't know." These children, the superintendent says, work from 6 p. m. to 6 a. m. One of the children is an emaciated

[2] *The Industrial Conflict.* Dr. S. G. Smith, Dept. Sociology, University Minnesota. pp. 90, 93, condensed.

[3] *From the Cotton Field to the Cotton Mill,* condensed. H. Thompson, 1906. A Study of the Industrial Transition of North Carolina.

little elf, 50 inches high, and weighing perhaps 48 pounds, who works from 6 at night till 6 in the morning, and who is so tiny that she has to climb up on the spinning frame to reach the top row of spindles.

"One girl of 10 years, a spinner, employed at night, had, during the preceding year, ordinarily worked 8½ hours on Saturday, after working 12 hours Friday night, making a continuous day of 20½ hours with intermissions for meals only. She had also worked 6 hours on Monday about one-third of the time, and a few times she had worked all day Monday and all of Monday night—a continuous period of 24 hours with about 35 minutes for dinner, and the same for supper. The mill did not stop during this time except for 35 minutes at midday."

"In South Carolina, in thirty-four mills, were found a total of one hundred and seventy girls under 12 years. In addition, there were employed two hundred and twenty-seven boys under 12. These figures do not include the children under 12 for whom legal exceptions had been made.

"One woman said, 'They just keep at a person until they have to let them work whether they want to or not. I don't want them to know I've got another gal. They'd have her right in the mill, and I want her to help me.' The girl referred to was 9.

Night Work

"Mothers complain that the children who work at night are nervous. Even when they went to bed early in the morning sleep was not continuous throughout the day, nor could it be sound sleep. In the small houses with thin wood partitions, every sound in the house can be heard by the night-worker, even though he may sleep in a separate room.

Lint

" 'The fly,' or lint, consists of the short broken fibres, which, being exceedingly light, are easily carried in the air.

"Lint is given off in all processes, up to and including spinning, which is very largely an occupation for women and children.

"The prevalence of tuberculosis among cotton mill operatives is well known. A special investigation of the Bureau of Labor shows that the mortality from this cause is excessive to an extraordinary degree. The death rate of female operatives from this cause being in general more than twice that of non-operatives, and, in some of the race and age groups, running to many times as high.

Accidents

"The rate for the child is more than double that of the older worker in this group, where the loss of part of a finger is usually the mildest occurrence. In these cases they varied among the children from a laceration involving the loss of a finger-nail to the loss of an arm. The child is then apparently more liable to all kinds of accident, and especially liable to those of severity."[4]

THE PARENTS AND THE CHILD

"The May family live opposite the factory in a dirty, poorly-kept mill tenement. The father and mother were sitting on the veranda with four children. A lad of nine with whom I entered into conversation told me he liked to go to school, but he 'ain't got der time to go.' The mill whistle blew and this nine-year-old boy with an eleven-year-old brother hurried across to the mill, without a word from either parent. One was a spinner, the father explained, the other, a doffer. They have eight other children in the mill. The father continued to sit on the veranda playing with his jack-knife and the mother continued to rub snuff.

"The father explained that the mill does not need men to work; it has plenty of work for women, girls and children, but men are needed only to oversee, and to work some of the machines, and there is need for only a small number.

"The spinning-room children in the C— mill did not seem under twelve years old, though some were puny and under-sized. The girls take care of from six to eight sides of the spinning frame. Seven girls of about fifteen work on the looms, and it was explained by the head weaver that each takes care of ten looms. The effect of taking care of these machines must be very serious for the delicate bodies of the young girls. There is a continual jolting of the floor. A guide in one of the other mills said he did not see how they can stand it. He couldn't." [5]

THE LAW-MAKERS AND THE CHILD

"At the village of L—, in Georgia, where is located the largest mill in the state, I found a group of well-built mills, surrounded by well-kept grounds, homes that were, externally, at least, well-

[4] *Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the United States*, 1907-1908.

Vol. I. Cotton Textile Industry, pp. 176, 182, 198, 208, 289, 291, 365, 369, 385, 539 (condensed).

Vol. XIV. Causes of Death Among Woman and Child Cotton-Mill Operatives, p. 31 (condensed).

[5] *A Casual Visit to the Cotton Mills.* J. J. Eschenbrenner, March, 1913.

planned and cared for, a school building and a church that pleased the eye; *everything provided for—apparently.*

"This favorable impression was deepened as I went through the mill—weave-rooms and card-rooms up-to-date. No use to look for Child Labor here, I thought. But upon entering the spinning-room I saw yougsters by the dozen, tiny little chaps, sweeping, doffing, spinning—there were twenty-five of them that I judged to be under 12 years of age in the three spinning-rooms alone (and I found some more in the weave-rooms, helping). These little ones were all well-trained, answering to the age of 12 or 14, no matter how youthful their appearance. Surely, not a thing was neglected—*except the children.*

"I visited the homes of some of the people, where some of them showed me their family records, life insurance papers, etc., and I proved nearly a dozen children to be working now or during the past year at 10 and 11 years of age—some had begun before they were 10. Many children who said they were 12 were really 'going on' 12 and *too often have a long way to go* before reaching 12.

"Others, who were 12 now, had been working one, two or three years, beginning at 10 or before.

"Undoubtedly, some of these ten-year-olds are working legally (if they are orphans or children of dependent parents, children may start work at 10 years of age in Georgia), but in nearly every case I examined, the wages of the children were not necessary if the older members of the family did their part. But so long as the Ordinary may be bribed, or the Overseer wheedled, so long as Inspectors do not inspect—what may we hope for?

"This mill has a sister mill in Lowell run by the same corporation. The youngest workers there were not under 14 and only a few were under 16, and the new 1913 law has made the hours eight a day for Massachusetts working children." [6]

[6] Report of Lewis W. Hine (condensed).

SOME RESULTS

OF THE

National Child Labor Committee's Work

FORTY-SEVEN states have enacted new or improved child labor or compulsory education laws since the Committee's organization in 1904.

The UNIFORM CHILD LABOR LAW, drafted by the Committee, has been unanimously endorsed by the American Bar Association.

The Children's Bureau in the Federal Government was secured in 1912, through a bill drafted and a six year campaign waged by the Committee.

The PALMER CHILD LABOR BILL was introduced in Congress, January 26, 1914. Its promotion is one of the Committee's chief interests this year.

The Committee employs expert investigators to study and photograph child labor conditions throughout the country.

Employs legislative experts to draft and help secure improved laws.

Publishes the quarterly CHILD LABOR BULLETIN, a Study Course, and other literature on all phases of child labor.

Provides Public lecturers.

Rents typewritten lecture with stereopticon slides showing children at work.

Furnishes exhibits of photographs, charts, diagrams and samples of children's work.

Co-operates with physicians, officials, educators, etc., to provide to children excluded from work, the physical, mental and moral opportunities needed to develop efficient citizenship.

Co-operates with relief societies to provide "scholarships" for poor families whose children are forbidden work.

7,500 members subscribed $56,602 in 1912-13. The work is supported entirely by these voluntary subscriptions. $100,000 a year are needed to do the work effectively.

To V. EVERIT MACY, Treasurer
National Child Labor Committee,
105 East 22nd Street, New York

I enclose $.....for the help of little children at work in tenement sweatshops, coal breakers and coal mines, cotton mills, glass factories, etc.

Enroll me in your membership and as a subscriber for the coming year for the quarterly CHILD LABOR BULLETIN for which $1 of above amount is intended.

Signed.....

Address.....

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The effort to develop an intelligent interest in the enforcement of child labor laws is as important as the work of investigation to reveal existing conditions and of campaigns to secure good laws.

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105 East 22d Street, New York

National Child Labor Committee

INCORPORATED

ORGANIZED APRIL 15, 1904

105 East 22nd Street . . . New York City
204 Bond Building . . . Washington, D. C.

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TO PROMOTE THE WELFARE OF SOCIETY, WITH RESPECT TO THE EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS.

TO INVESTIGATE AND REPORT THE FACTS CONCERNING CHILD LABOR.

TO RAISE THE STANDARD OF PUBLIC OPINION AND PARENTAL RESPONSIBILITY WITH RESPECT TO THE EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN.

TO ASSIST IN PROTECTING CHILDREN BY SUITABLE LEGISLATION AGAINST PREMATURE OR OTHERWISE INJURIOUS EMPLOYMENT, AND THUS TO AID IN SECURING FOR THEM AN OPPORTUNITY FOR ELEMENTARY EDUCATION, AND PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT SUFFICIENT FOR THE DEMANDS OF CITIZENSHIP AND THE REQUIREMENTS OF INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY.

TO AID IN PROMOTING THE ENFORCEMENT OF LAWS RELATING TO CHILD LABOR.

TO CO-ORDINATE, UNIFY, AND SUPPLEMENT THE WORK OF STATE OR LOCAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEES, AND ENCOURAGE THE FORMATION OF SUCH COMMITTEES WHERE THEY DO NOT EXIT.

Persons who contribute $2 or more annually toward the support of the child labor campaign are enrolled as associate members, $5 or more as contributing members, $25 or more as sustaining members and $100 or more as guarantors of the Committee. Of each membership contribution $1 is applied as a subscription for the Quarterly Child Labor Bulletin; members receive free other publications of the Committee and are thus kept in touch with the child labor movement throughout the country. Remittances may be sent to V. Everit Macy, Treasurer, 105 E. 22nd Street, New York City.

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The

Child Labor Bulletin

Volume Three
Number Two
In Two Parts

AUGUST, 1914

Issued Quarterly
Price $2 per Year
Part II.

CHILDREN AT WORK ON MEN'S CLOTHING

CHILD LABOR IN THE GLASS INDUSTRY

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A Summary of Volumes II and III of the Federal Report on the Condition of Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the United States, 61st Congress, 2d Session, Senate Document 645.

COMPILED BY

ANNA ROCHESTER

Special Agent, National Child Labor Committee

National Child Labor Committee

INCORPORATED

105 East 22d Street, New York City

1914

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CHILDREN AT WORK ON MEN'S CLOTHING.*

ANNA ROCHESTER
Special Agent, National Child Labor Committee.

The making of men's clothing involves two different kinds of child labor and therefore two distinct problems: the young "child helpers" in the tenements and the older children employed in the shops and factories. The material presented in the federal report leads inevitably to the questions, *"Should these two forms of child labor be permitted, and, if not, how can they be abolished?"*

HOME FINISHING.

"The term 'finishing' is loosely used to denote the hand sewing requisite to complete the garment after the operating and basting have been done, . . . When this work is done in homes it is referred to as 'home finishing' and the women who do the work are called 'home finishers.'" Page 216.

Home finishing is a relic of the early days of the clothing industry. "The typical wholesale clothier of this period (before 1860) bought the cloth and trimming, and sponged and cut it on his own premises. He then gave out the material for manufacture in the homes of his employees, paying them so much per garment." Page 484. The small shop system grew up in the eighties but home work was still employed, chiefly for making pants and vests and the cheaper grades of coats. Today various causes have led to the making of practically all garments in the factory or shop. Finishing alone remains in the homes of the workers.

The report confirms the long-standing impression concerning the evils of home work—low wages, long hours, child labor, and insanitary conditions that endanger the worker and the consumer. It gives the material for a fair comparison of the conditions of home workers and shop workers.

To take first the question of hours, for which the report offers the least definite statements. In the shops the average full-time hours for adults, running from 54 to 58 per week in the five cities, must be checked against the fact that during the week for which

* Compiled from Volume II of the Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the United States.

hours were studied in detail, about 25 per cent of the workers reported overtime while 58.5 per cent had worked less than full time. In 1908 the hours of women in factories were regulated by law in New York and Pennsylvania. "Illegal overtime is worked but the amount shown represents evidential cases rather than a true indication of the proportion of women thus employed." Page 116. Since 1908 the laws governing the hours of women in factories have been greatly strengthened in New York and Pennsylvania, and 10-hour laws have been passed in Illinois and Maryland. Factory inspection has been reorganized and improved in New York and Pennsylvania, a state department has been established in Maryland, and the Illinois bureau has been increased and made more efficient. Further, since 1908 the organization of the workers in the clothing shops has progressed and the observance of state factory laws is enforced by the workers themselves. Therefore it is fair to believe that hours in garment factories are today more favorable to the workers than they were found to be at the time of the investigation.

The home finishers, on the other hand, are isolated and unorganized; the only law regulating their hours is still the demand of the contractors. Therefore the statements of the report about home workers may be accepted for today without qualification. "Because of the long periods of idleness when they can earn nothing these women make the most of the busy season when it comes, and when plenty of work is to be had the combined labor of the whole family, all day and often at night, is utilized. They take as many garments as they can possibly secure, and then work unlimited hours and strain to the utmost to complete their tasks. Agents found Sunday work among the Italians by no means uncommon. Generally in the shops visited 10 hours was found to be the length of the workday, but the length of the home worker's day was found to vary considerably. There were instances where women said they worked from 6 or 7 o'clock in the morning to 9, 10, or 11 o'clock at night. . . . Besides working on garments, these women have to spend additional time going to and from the shop for work and waiting around the shop for it; do their house work; care for their children; often wash the lodgers' clothes with those of the family, and, where there are boarders, cook for a large number of people. Thus to say that over 60 per cent of the women worked 8 hours per day or one-

quarter of them worked 10 hours per day, means that some time between the time of rising and going to bed they put in this many hours sewing on garments. This complicated routine of duties prolongs the day of the home worker into the night even if she only puts in '6 or 8 hours a day' on the work." Pages 241-242.

In the matter of wages the contrast between finishers in the shop and in the home is more marked. The table shows that 65 or

Number and per cent of single and married shop finishers and home finishers in New York, by classified earnings per full week. Page 225.

(This table includes only women who have been finishers a year or more, and among the married only those wno have been married a year or more.)

Classified Weekly Earnings	Shop Finishers					Home Finishers				
	Single		Married		Total	Single		Married		Total
	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.		No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	
$1 to $1.49	....	....	....	....	....	1	9.1	13	3.0	14
$1.50 to $1.99	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	51	11.9	51
$2 to $2.49	1	0.9	2	3.0	3	1	9.1	92	21.4	93
$2.50 to $2.99	....	....	2	3.0	2	1	9.1	60	13.9	61
$3 to $3.49	3	2.6	4	6.2	7	4	36.4	93	21.6	97
$3.50 to $3.99	4	3.6	6	9.3	10	....	....	29	6.7	29
$4 to $4.49	9	7.9	9	13.8	18	3	27.3	47	10.9	50
$4.50 to $4.99	4	3.6	6	9.3	10	....	....	14	3.3	14
$5 to $5.49	22	19.5	9	13.8	31	1	9.0	15	3.5	16
$5.50 to $5.99	5	4.4	1	1.5	6	....	....	5	1.2	5
$6 to $6.99	23	24.0	15	23.2	38	....	....	5	1.2	5
$7 to $7.99	18	15.9	6	9.3	24	....	....	3	0.7	3
$8 to $8.99	15	13.3	3	4.6	18	....	....	3	0.7	3
$9 and over	9	7.9	2	3.0	11	....	....	....	....	....
Total	113	100.0	65	100.0	178	11	100.0	430	100.0	441

practically 15 per cent of the home finishers earned less than $2 a week, and 251 or 57 per cent earned $2 to $3.49, while none of the shop finishers earned less than $2 and only 12, or less than 7 per cent, fell below $3.50 a week; 51 per cent of the shop finishers earned $6 or more as against 11 or 2.5 per cent of the home finishers. None of the home finishers earned as much as $9, although 6 per cent of the shop finishers came up to that amount. "A study of earnings by years at work shows that no matter for how long a

period a woman remained a home finisher, neither her efficiency nor earning power seemed to improve. There is a steady increase in the average earning capacity of shop workers in proportion to age." Page 226.

Over 91 per cent of the children in the shops were 14 and 15 years of age; none was less than 12 years old, but of the children "helping" in tenement homes two-fifths were below that age. At the time of the investigation 14 years was the legal age limit for factory work in each of the five cities investigated except Baltimore, and among the 597 children employed in the shops of the other four cities, only 10 were less than 14 years old. Since 1912 a 14-year limit has been in force in Maryland also, so that it is safe to assume that the shop percentage of children less than 14 years old has been still further reduced.

The report shows further a general disregard of the 8-hour law for children by the New York factories and a general observance of the 8-hour law in Chicago. For present conditions this indicates little beyond the fact that it is perfectly possible to restrict by state law the hours of children's work in factories within a limit lower than the daily schedule of the adult workers.

Number of child helpers to home workers in each city by age of helpers. Page 230.

CITY	No. of home workers	No. of child helpers	Child Helpers of Ages										
			5 yrs.	6 yrs.	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.	15 yrs.
Chicago	40	4	....	....	....	....	....	....	a1	....	a2	....	1
Rochester	34	4	....	1	....	....	....	a1	....	....	....	2	....
New York	488	81	3	1	3	5	7	5	8	21	8	14	6
Phila.	48	10	....	....	1	a1	....	1	2	2	1	1	1
Baltimore	64	11	....	....	1	....	....	2	a1	a4	1	....	2
Total	674	110	3	2	5	a6	7	a9	b12	a27	a12	17	10

a Including 1 child who takes work to and from shop.
b Including 2 children who take work to and from shop.

The hours worked by the young "child helpers" in the tenement homes could not be scheduled or even estimated. "Women with children at work and the children themselves know that child

labor is against public sentiment, and unless a child was caught working it was seldom admitted that such child did work. Sometimes upon a first visit they denied working, but were found at work when visited again. Often as an agent entered a house where children were at work, a sudden dropping and concealing of the work was noticed. It is the opinion of the agents on this investigation that all children of a household where home work is done are drafted into this work with more or less regularity, after school, at night, and on Sunday." Page 230.

That home work not only occupies time when the children should be at play or in bed, but seriously interferes with school attendance, is shown by the fact that out of 512 children between 6 and 13 years of age in home workers' families 100 were not attending school. This phase of the subject could conceivably be regulated by a stricter enforcement of the school attendance law, but the employment out of school hours offers a much more difficult problem. New York is the first state to attempt such regulation, and since last October the 14-year age limit and the 8-hour day under 16 have been supposed to apply to workers in tenement homes. But George A. Hall, secretary of the New York Child Labor Committee, and other social workers testified before the New York State Factory Investigating Commission in May, that such regulations in the homes had proved entirely unenforceable.

The phase of home work which most obviously and immediately interests every buyer of men's clothing is the sanitary conditions under which the garments are made. And in this connection it should be noted that all grades of clothing—ready-made clothing of various prices and custom-made garments—are sent into the homes to be finished.

"The results of this investigation show that men's ready-made clothing is often finished in the homes of a class of people whose under-nourished condition, due to poverty and lack of thrift and hygienic sense, general low standard of living, and dirty habits, make them most susceptible to contagious diseases; hence it is asserted that the practice of giving out to workers garments to be finished or made up in their homes is to place the wearer in the way of contracting tuberculosis and other contagious or infectious diseases, or of catching vermin." In the two congested blocks of

New York City, where a large proportion of the men's ready-made clothing sold all over the United States is sent to be finished, the death rates due to contagious diseases are abnormal. Doctors who will agree to conceal diseases from the Health Department, are the most popular with garment workers. Agents of the bureau found women working on garments while children in the house were suffering with contagious diseases. They would put the garments down from time to time to minister to or fondle such children.

"One home finisher visited had a little boy suffering from whooping cough. When he had a coughing spell, the mother thrust her finger down into his throat in an effort to relieve him. This caused slight nausea, and the mother wiped her fingers, covered with mucous, on the pants on which she was at work.

"In another case, where a child's head and face were covered with a loathsome rash, the mother constantly stopped her work of finishing pants and caressingly ran her hands over this eruption, and then without washing them took up the pants and continued her work. Asked what was the matter with the child, she could only say that her doctor had told her it was some 'ketcha disease.'"

"In one house where a woman was working on garments there was a youth suffering, the family frankly stated, with a sexual disease. He had had treatment for months, but was still desperately ill. His bedroom was dark and hot, and only 8 feet square; its only window opened into the kitchen; therefore the boy had spread a quilt and sheet on the floor at his mother's feet in the kitchen and lay there while she finished pants, she placing the garments, as completed, on the floor beside him.

"Diseased and sore looking eyes were common among home finishers' children, and a physician who accompanied an agent diagnosed one such case of suspicious looking eyes as trachoma. There were several children suffering with measles in home finishers' families, while the finisher was working on garments, and there was no sign on the house.

"In practically all the homes of these workers spitting on the floor was a conspicuous custom. . . . Physicians say that tuberculosis is reported only in a small percentage of cases among these people, as the course of the disease is such that the realization of

the necessity for medical service is not always felt until the patient is in the last stages.

"Many manufacturers contend that no matter what the condition of houses may be where garments are handled—no matter how filthy, diseased or vermin laden, that the pressing with a hot iron destroys all germs and vermin, and that the presser always has a bottle of cleaning fluid to remove stains and dirt. But no one would knowingly buy clothing that had been vermin infected, or made in a home where one of the family had smallpox, even if assured and convinced that the garments were to be pressed with a hot iron before delivery and cleansed with a cleaning fluid. The presence of the garment in the shop before the pressing is dangerous, not only to the presser, but to all other workers, and to the wearers of such other garments as may be in process of manufacture in the shop."

"The 'tenement work shop,' so called, has been practically abolished. Manufacturers who never patronize a contractor and have every garment they turn out made up in their own inside shop, but send all garments into a tenement house to be finished, will nevertheless advertise 'No sweat-shop goods,' 'None of our goods made in tenements,' 'All goods manufactured in our own sanitary inside shops.' Technically their advertisements are correct, but they do not state the whole truth. It is true their goods are not manufactured in insanitary places, but they are in numerous cases finished there, which is just as bad for the consumer."

"It may be said that a greater amount of grease, dirt, vermin, and disease are imbedded in garments that go into homes to be made or finished than could possibly be acquired in sweat shops."

"It is not claimed that all home finishing is done under insanitary or revolting conditions, yet the fact that it can be done under such conditions, and that much of it is so done, forces the conclusion that such a method of manufacture should be abolished in the interest of the public health." Pages 306-316.

Is it not possible to regulate these evils without abolishing the whole system of home work?

"Officials in several states have testified to the physical impossibility of enforcing laws regulating home finishing. No single state can afford to employ a corps of inspectors sufficiently numerous to

make more than a cursory inspection of licensed houses. Proper inspection would require almost daily visits to innumerable homes. . . . All laws 'regulating' tenement-house manufacture are more or less ineffective in the accomplishment of the principal purpose for which they have been enacted, namely, the preservation of the public health. The New York state laws on this subject are looked upon as models for this class of legislation, and every effort is made for their enforcement; yet it has been found in this investigation that work was being done in homes in the city of New York that, while structurally sanitary, were insanitary from other standpoints, owing to the presence of filth or vermin, or of diseased persons, or that they had become insanitary because of the low standards of the dwellers in them." Page 317. And again: "The conditions under which work, by say 1,000 people, is done in a factory can be inspected frequently; but to attempt to visit that number of home finishers with any effect is so useless that laws providing a few inspectors for such purpose fall very short of their aim." Page 316.

To regulate the sanitary conditions of the homes in which finishing may be done, would be simplicity itself beside any attempt to limit by law the hours that women might work or to dictate what their children of various ages may or may not do when they are at home. The enforcement of such laws in a shop or factory depends on pay-roll lists, schedules of hours and the fact that the presence of a child under age, or of a child or a woman outside of the scheduled hours provides prima facie evidence of violation. The only place where home work can be regulated is the factory from which the home work comes. To prohibit the sending out of work would be entirely possible—particularly if the cooperation of the shop workers was secured, and they have for years advocated the abolition of home work. But once the work has left the factory or shop and gone into the home, the conditions under which it shall be done have passed out from under the control of the community.

The inertia of the public hitherto is well summed up by one manufacturer, who said: "If public opinion is against tenement-made goods, it cuts no figure whatever."

Are we indifferent? Or are we honestly convinced that certain specious arguments offered in defense of home work are sufficient reason for delaying action? Let us review them briefly.

"The manufacturer sometimes contends that home finishing is a 'godsend' to the 'poor widow who must support her children'; but this contention does not hold, as the poor widow with her children to support was not found among the home finishers. If she were a factor, her poor children would starve, as the remuneration for this class of labor falls far short of supporting its most diligent and tireless workers." Page 301.

Or we assume that home work is a good thing because it enables the wife to supplement her husband's meager earnings and to care for her child at the same time. "A home finisher's business in life is finishing, and the conditions of labor are such that, even though she remains in her own home while at work, her necessarily constant attention to her work renders her children practically motherless." Page 301. In the light of this statement one wonders whether the children of married women in the shop—of whom 74 per cent were reported as taken care of by some one other than the mother—were not faring better than the children of the home finishers of whom more than half were taken care of by the mother and therefore "practically motherless." "Undoubtedly poverty in varying degrees is a strong reason for home work." But home work can never lift the family above the poverty line. So long as fathers are underpaid and irregularly employed it is a frank confession of social failure by the community to allow the mother to sacrifice the home and her children's welfare in a sweated occupation instead of providing the father with regular work at a living wage. And so long as home work is tolerated by the community as a counsel of despair, it encourages the indolence of those fathers for whose idleness the community is not to blame.

Every argument against child labor in the factory applies with equal force to the work of the child helpers of home finishers. The states in which tenement home work is an acute problem have all forbidden children under 14 to work in the factory. They believe it is legitimate to interfere with the freedom of the parent who would send his child into the factory, whatever the need of the family for additional earnings. The child has the paramount claim and other means than the exploitation of his labor must be found to relieve poverty. Are these other children to be deprived of protection because their field of work is not in the factory, but in the home?

Again the child has the paramount claim, and since experience is proving that home work involves unpreventable child labor, it is not only legitimate but necessary to abolish home work.

The inertia that hinders this step has been fostered by the manufacturers who cherish this form of cheap and unresisting labor. "Employers say that finishers take up too much room; consequently rather than pay rent for such additional room, the factory is spread over innumerable bedrooms and kitchens. It means for the employers an actual saving in rental, in heating, lighting, furnishing and otherwise so equipping a shop as to meet legal requirements, as well as a saving in shop supervision." Page 302.

Of fifteen manufacturers who expressed themselves on this point, four stated that the abolition of home work would not injure the industry, and one maker of high-grade goods said it was no cheaper as a mode of production. "The abolition of home finishing would not be a serious loss to the trade; it would temporarily embarrass it to a great extent, but the business could and would adapt itself to such a change." "A national law prohibiting home finishing would cause trouble in the beginning but would do much good in the end." "Home finishing can not be counted upon as sanitary. If home finishing were done away with by law the clothing industry would not be seriously affected. It would mean an advance toward better and more sanitary clothing." "The abolition of home finishing would be a good thing, making for more sanitary production." Pages 303-306.

CHILDREN IN THE SHOPS.

The question of child labor in clothing factories can be considered from the point of view of the child's own welfare without the complication of a tradition that children are essential to the industry. "Children do not seem to have any well-established position in the industry, and practically all employers stated that they could get along just as well without them." Page 79. "Altogether in the 244 establishments there were 848 children, or 3.6 per cent, of a total of 23,683 persons employed. . . . In 105, or 43 per cent of all (establishments investigated) no children were employed." Page 75. It is worth while noting that although the percentage of children among the workers is much greater in cer-

tain small shops and contract shops than in any of the larger shops, still four-fifths of those that employed no children whatever were small establishment having less than 50 and in many cases less than 25 workers in each shop.

There are four times as many girls as boys at work in the clothing industry, and relatively more of the girls than of the boys were doing work that might ultimately lead to a fair wage.

For the most highly paid work, done entirely by men who are skilled, all-round tailors, the shops depend on the influx of immigrants trained in Europe. They rarely attempt to teach the boy who enters the shop without training. The few boys who were classed as apprentices—6 were found among the total of 170 boys—"do not follow any particular regime in learning the trade, but rather are allowed to learn what they can from the trimmers and cutters." Page 78. The foreman of one large Chicago shop, which had apparently systematized the training and promotion of its workers, reported that he never had more than one boy in the shop who was learning all-round tailoring.

The less highly skilled occupations in which both men and women are employed are classified as operating, high-grade hand sewing, and low-grade hand sewing. "Comparatively few boys did any hand sewing, either high or low grade, while a somewhat larger number (one-fifth of all the boys) were employed at some form of operating . . . occupations of which the chief advantage to the boy is that they teach him how to run a machine . . . Everywhere the work of boys was chiefly confined to miscellaneous non-sewing occupations, such as errand boys, floor boys, sorters, helpers to trimmers, soapers and office boys." Page 78. "A large proportion of girls (283 or 41.8 per cent of all) are employed at miscellaneous occupations. More of the girls do sewing . . . The hand sewing done by girls consists of simple work such as most of them are familiar with before going into the shop." Page 79. The great majority (82.3 per cent) of all the child operators were girls.

"A small proportion of children were found at occupations at which they could remain as they became older." Page 79. And later the report refers again to the lack of systematic method of training beginners, not only for the most highly skilled work but for the other occupations and says: "One reason of this is the large

extent to which the force is made up of immigrants who do not enter the shop as children, but are able to learn quickly some detail of the work for which an employee is needed." Page 476. The evident inference is that workers receive no advantage from entering the industry as children. In the semi-skilled occupations, they learn nothing which they could not learn at least as well and probably better when they are older; and the special training for highly skilled tailoring, which might be considered as distinctly educational, is not offered by the factories and shops. It is true that the boys and girls who are employed as operators and hand sewers are likely to pass from the simplest processes to the slightly more skilled and better paid work as they become more proficient, but their chance of promotion is no better than that of the worker who enters the industry at 16 or later.

What future earnings does the clothing industry offer its unskilled and semi-skilled workers?

Number and Per Cent of Male and Female Employees 21 Years and Over in Each City Earning Classified Amounts Per Week.
(Condensed from Table on Pages 142-145.)

	Number of employees with weekly earnings.			Per cent of employees with weekly earnings.		
	Under $6	$6 to $7.99	$8 and over	Under $6	$6 to $7.99	$8 and over
Chicago—						
Males	56	41	264	15.5	11.4	73.1
Females	461	316	742	30.4	20.8	48.8
Rochester—						
Males	12	20	295	3.7	6.1	90.2
Females	204	255	368	24.7	30.8	44.5
New York—						
Males	288	319	1,783	12.1	13.3	74.6
Females	636	335	389	46.8	24.6	28.6
Philadelphia—						
Males	56	73	294	13.2	17.3	69.5
Females	258	99	124	53.6	20.6	25.8
Baltimore—						
Males	215	141	469	26.1	17.1	56.8
Females	520	120	81	72.1	16.7	11.2

"The significance of these data is in their bearing on the question of a woman's capacity to earn enough for self-support. The statistics here summarized (in the tables from which the above sta-

tistics are condensed) show that in Chicago about two-thirds of the women 18 to 44 and a larger per cent of these 21 to 44 earn $6 or more. About one-half of those 21 to 44 earn $8 or more. The situation in Rochester is somewhat more favorable. Less favorable by far are the conditions in the eastern cities. In New York and Philadelphia little over one-half of the women 21 to 44 earn above $6; less than one-third exceed $8. In Baltimore less than one-third earn more than $6, and far less than one-sixth earn $8 or more. Those who remain in the shop after 20 earn considerably more than the mass of girls under that age who constitute the working force. . . . The earnings of males 16 years of age and over are always in excess of female earnings at corresponding ages. . . . The substance of these observations is that for both sexes earnings increase with age. The increase is greater for men and continues during a longer period. Women reach what is nearly their maximum earnings early and earn but little more thereafter. Most of the women have left the shop before the age when experience and skill permit the highest earnings." Page 147.

It must be noted that these figures represent weekly earnings only. In order to estimate the actual income of workers in the clothing industry they must be checked against the average yearly earnings of employees that appeared on 50 or more weekly pay rolls, which the report says represent "the earnings of the steadiest workers and stand for the maximum possible earnings rather than for normal earnings. They are to be regarded rather as indicating the top limit to the earnings of the employees than as showing the average actual earnings." Page 166. The yearly averages for males 21 years and over were highest in Chicago, $699.53, and lowest in Baltimore, $552.13; for female workers they varied from $450.92 in Chicago to $315.25 in Baltimore. Perhaps more illuminating than these average earnings are the percentages of employees 21 years and over whose yearly earnings fell below $400:

Chicago	Men	20%
	Women	41.4%
Rochester	Men	4.2%
	Women	54.7%
Philadelphia	Men	14.2%
	Women	83.6%
Baltimore	Men	11.2%
	Women	88.2%

Pages 169-171.

There are several causes that send the child of 14 or 15 to work. They are discussed at length in volume VII of the report. The present volume does not take them up in detail but it does report the total family income of all families having children under 16 at work and finds the average to have been $912, of which the children contributed an average of $129, or 14.2 per cent, showing that there was a considerable proportion whose income was higher than this, and for whom immediate need could not have been compelling.*

What have the children under 16 *forfeited by going into clothing factories before they were* 16 *years old?*

"The occupations in which children are engaged cannot be regarded as in themselves greatly injurious to health; the worst features involved are those of constant sitting and bending over the work and the confinement in close workrooms." Page 80. If we read this in the light of what we demand for the children of our own families, we must be led to question whether the children have not forfeited part of their right to health and sound physical development.

Whatever the conditions, they have forfeited their right to learn to do well something that is well worth doing.

They have left school at a time when they most need guidance and vision. And however inadequate the schools, they are better than any factory, for their aim is to benefit the children and not to benefit from them.

"Child labor must be abolished because in the most critical, plastic age of the future citizen, it hinders his education. It makes it impossible for the foundations to be laid upon which a genuine education can be reared. In discussions of this kind we often find that the enlightenment of a people is estimated by the degree to which literacy has been achieved, and illiteracy expelled. People are divided, as it were, into sheep and goats, the literate and the illiterate. But it must be obvious, even on slight reflection, that mere literacy, the mere ability to read and write, is not of itself a guarantee of the kind of mental preparation that is required for

* The families on which this average was based included not only all the children under 16 at work in clothing shops but also those families of women employed in the shops in which children were at work whether in the clothing industry or elsewhere.

the exercise of the franchise in a republic. The essential requirement is judgment. The reading faculty may be compared to a water-main that admits into a city the flood of a river, in which there is both health and foulness, the seeds of disease as well as drink that slakes thirst. The mind that is open to such matter as is contained in newspapers and magazines is exposed to an indiscriminate flood of ideas and suggestions, some right and some wrong, some pure and some corrupt and corrupting, a muddle of truth and error, of fact and falsehood. If the reading faculty is a water-main, the judgment is a filter. The problem of education is to furnish the filter, to develop judgment in the masses. And how is this to be achieved? On what does judgment depend? It depends on a knowledge of principles, and on a sensitiveness to the considerations that make principles flexible to conditions. These are the elements of judgment, and it is possible to train the judgment even of the humbler class of workers." *

What shall we say then? Do we agree with our federal government that labor by children under 16 was a problem deserving a costly study? Does that study tell us that their work in the clothing industry has educational value? And are we ready to approve of any occupation for children in which that element is lacking, and the only benefit to the child is the wage he is earning?

Ohio has answered these questions with a 15-year limit for boys and a 16-year limit for girls in factories and a score of other common occupations at all times. When will other states follow her example and go one step further by fixing a 16-year limit for both boys and girls, setting them free for study and play and genuine training for life?

* From an address delivered by Dr. Felix Adler at the Tenth National Conference of the National Child Labor Committee.

CHILD LABOR IN THE GLASS INDUSTRY *

By Anna Rochester
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One in ten of all the wage-earners in the one hundred and seventy-nine glass factories studied by the United States Bureau of Labor was a child under 16 years of age. Since the investigation covered three-fourths of all the establishments, more than three-fourths of all furnaces, and all but four of the twenty-one states manufacturing glass in 1907-1908, its findings may be accepted as typical of the industry at that time. The present summary will review these findings in relation to the following questions:

1. What were children doing in the glass factories?

2. What opportunities for training and advancement awaited them in the industry?

3. What was the attitude of the glass industry toward their employment?

4. How young were the children and what should be the legal restrictions upon the employment of minors in glass factories?

1. What the Children Do in Glass Houses.

The five thousand boys at work in the furnace room were employed at one or another of half a dozen unskilled occupations.

"The mold boy sits or stands at the blower's feet and tends the molds, opening and shutting them as required by the blower. . . . As the occupation is one which does not permit of much moving around, the posture of the body is of importance. . . . In the newer furnaces (in about half the establishments visited) the 'working holes' are so placed that . . . the mold . . . (is) . . . at a convenient height for the mold boy to handle. In many of the older furnaces, particularly pot furnaces, however, the arrangement is different. . . . The molds rest upon or very close to the floor. As a result the mold boy must either squat upon the ground in an awkward, cramped position, or, standing, must stoop constantly to his work. . . . In all establishments the heat is a particularly conspicuous factor in the mold boy's work. . . . He faces the

* Compiled from Volume III. of the Report on the Condition of Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the United States.

furnace and his face and shoulders, at least, are in direct line with the radiated heat from the working hole. . . . The mold itself, after a short using, becomes very hot . . . the blower in lowering the hot lump of glass into the mold necessarily swings it close to the boy's face. . . . The degree of attention required of the mold boy can best be understood by the citation of output figures. When working on small ware, such as prescription bottles of one-half or one-fourth ounce capacity, the production of an average shop (or team of seven workers including one mold boy) will be approximately 5,520 bottles in a day of nine hours, or 613 in an hour, a trifle over ten a minute." Pages 39, 47-50.

The cleaning-off boy stands beside the blower and cleans the blow-pipe after each using. This, although a simple operation, requires some little physical strength and skill, and the occupation is usually reserved for the older and more experienced boys.

"The duty of the snapping-up boy is to pick up the article as placed by the mold boy on the stand, place it in a long-handled holder, neck upward, carry it to the finisher's bench, rub the neck against an iron rasp in order to remove the greater portion of the excess 'blow-over' and finally to insert the article in the 'glory-hole' or reheating furnace. . . . Not only is constant walking necessary, but also constant arm movement, some bending, and, in general, an incessant activity of the whole body. . . . Into the work of the snapping-up boy there enters the hardship of looking into the bright, glaring light of the glory-hole." Temperature readings taken at three different establishments showed 140° at the glory-hole.

The carrying-in boy carries the ware from the finisher to the leer or annealing oven. "The heat conditions under which he works are a difficult matter to determine. At either end of his line he is working in high temperatures at all times of the year. Between these he may be in very comfortable temperature if the wind is blowing across his path, or it may be hot if the wind is blowing either from the furnace or from the leer. In winter, his path may be through a very cold zone between two points of extreme heat. . . . The carry-in has some strain upon his eyes, for he must look into the open mouth of the leer or annealing furnace long enough to place his ware in proper position." Pages 53-55.

These four occupations employ the great majority of all boys in the furnace room and in most establishments a more or less regular interchange of occupation is either required or permitted. While this affords certain relief from the special strain of any one kind of work, it does not affect the general conditions surrounding the boys which the report describes at considerable length. " 'Blow-over' is the name given to those gossamer-like flakes of filmy glass usually found floating in the air of a bottle house where articles are blown with iron molds by human breath. . . . Sometimes the blow-over dust gets in the eyes and causes annoyance and pain, though no serious trouble from this source was reported. The presence of the dust in the factory is certainly highly annoying to the workers, especially the boys, and is the cause of much temporary skin and eye irritation." Pages 65-67.

"The fact of the extreme discomfort of the heat of the furnace room is indicated by the tendency of the shop boys to desert the work as soon as the warmer days of May or June arrive. . . . In nearly all factories this exodus of unskilled help in warm weather is a serious problem. The usual solution is to make use of the numerous schoolboys now on vacation and anxious to earn extra spending money. The intensity of the heat in the blow room in warmer weather is also evidenced by the fact that heat prostrations and heat affections short of prostrations are very common in warmer weather. About half of the mothers who have sons in the glass factory stated that their boys suffered in warm weather from extreme exhaustion, headaches and sleeplessness. . . . In the winter the immediate danger to health arises from sudden changes in temperature. . . . The zones of heat immediately around the furnace, the glory-hole, and the leer are of almost the same degree in winter as in summer, but the temperature of the areas outside these zones is reduced almost to the level of the temperature outside the factory. . . . The danger to health following sudden changes in heat conditions is likewise present when the boys leave the factory for their homes. The boys, as a rule, have little or no extra clothing to protect them from the outside weather and rarely take the trouble to wait in the factory until their bodies are sufficienly cooled to bear the change. This danger is particularly acute when night work is being done. The night shift quits between 2

and 4 o'clock in the morning, the time when the weather is normally most severe, and the time when the boys, through sleepiness and anxiety to get home, are least likely to consider the matter of health." Pages 76-77.

Referring to accidents, the report finds: "The chief source of danger arises from the presence of hot glass and broken glass. From the time a ball of molten glass is gathered from the furnace until the molded article is deposited in the leer the glass is sufficiently hot to cause burning if brought into contact with the flesh. . . . An important check to undue carelessness lies in the automatism of the work. . . . Certain factories, on the other hand, increase the danger of burning by overcrowding the working space. . . . In such cases the space allowed the mold boy and the snapping-up boy may become so small that the slightest mischance results in a burn. . . . Many cuts and burns come from the presence of broken glass upon the blow-room floor." Pages 89-91.

Of the 161 furnace rooms employing boys under 16, 119, or 73.8 per cent., operated by night as well as by day. "As some factories operated less than their full equipment at night and some, in any case, did not employ children at night, it appeared that of the 3,975 boys under 16, scheduled as employed in day and night working factories, 1,183 were working only in the day time. The other 2,792 were reported as regularly alternating between day and night work." Pages 95-96.

The regular hours worked by the boys corresponded in general to the hours of the skilled workers, which were approximately 50 hours per week on the night shift and 50 hours or less on the day shift. A few boys were found (eighty-one on the day force and two hundred and seventy-eight on the alternating force) whose working hours were regularly longer than 50 hours a week, but in no case did the regular schedule exceed 56 hours for the alternating force and 58 hours for the day force. "The present inquiry into the glass-making industry developed no data of a character to modify in any way the universally acepted medical view that night work, in itself, is almost invariably detrimental to the health and physical well-being of a growing boy." Page 108.

"On the other hand, the practice of alternation renders even more difficult one of the most serious problems of night work—the

problem of sleep. It means that one week the boy must obtain his sleep in the day-time and the following week in the night-time. Proper adjustment to varying sleeping periods is not an easy accomplishment for either adults or children. It was the almost unanimous opinion of night foremen and adult glass workers interviewed that this periodic change in the time of sleeping was, at the least, physically undesirable." Page 109.

"The night shift quits work usually at 3 A. M. By hurrying to sleep and reducing the sleeping time, the boy will have a large part of the daylight for play. . . . During the present investigation it was not at all uncommon to find on the street, as early as 9 A. M., boys who had worked on the previous night shift and had quit as late as 3 A. M." Page 109.

"There is a strong probability of there being unsuitable surroundings for daytime sleeping. The majority of shop boys come from homes in which the standard of living is rather low, the houses small, the rooms crowded. If in the larger cities, these houses are usually in the more congested sections, where the street noises are greatest and the street life early astir." Page 110.

"This happens (the ending of the night shift) usually about 3 o'clock, the time when the weather is most severe and the time when the boy, through sleepiness and anxiety to get home, is least likely to consider the guarding of his health. Always he is overheated from his work, frequently in a state of perspiration. Only very rarely does he have extra or sufficient clothing to protect him in the change to the outside temperature. Often, too, he has a long journey home. . . . The car line, however, rarely has an all-night service, and the boys on the night shift, quitting about 3 A. M., must wait for the first morning car, arriving possibly not until 5 or 6 o'clock. This interval of two or three hours the tired boy is naturally tempted to bridge by sleeping in the factory. . . . Even, however, when the boy's home is not beyond walking distance, the temptation to sleep in the factory may still be very strong. . . . As a result of such causes—the distance to the house, the fear of something along the route, fatigue from the work, unfavorable weather—the boy is often unwilling to return to his home, preferring to sleep in the factory, at least until daylight comes." Pages 110 and 111.

"In addition to its own harmful effects upon the shopboys, the system of working two shifts of workers, one by day and one by night, makes possible an even more serious evil—that of 'double shift' work. A boy may work regularly on one shift and also on the whole or part of the succeeding shift, all within a period of 24 hours. . . . It appears that about one boy in every eleven (9.3%) worked double shift during the year covered on an average of nearly 14 occasions. For Group 1, covering those States which absolutely prohibit night work for children, the percentage of boys (3.1%) working double shift and the average number of occasions per person (4.6) are both reasonably small." Pages 111 and 116.

Concerning the effects of double-shift work upon the physical well-being of children, little need be said. To work a full double shift means a presence in the factory of at least 20 hours out of the possible 24 and an actual working period of 17 to 18 hours. To work a shift and a half means 15 hours presence in the factory and 13 to 14 hours of actual work. That such long hours entail a tremendous strain on the physical and nervous vitality of a child is self-evident, even if such double-shift work is done only occasionally. During the course of the investigation there were found two cases of recent death, both children, which could be directly attributed to exhaustion due to double-shift work in the furnace room.

As an indication of the general healthfulness of work in the furnace room the report presents statistics concerning deaths among glass bottle blowers, based on the records of death benefits of the Glass Bottle Blowers Association for the seventeen years from 1892 to 1908. Of the 898 deaths, nearly one-half (47.4%) occurred between the ages of 25 and 39 years and three-fifths (60.72%) between 25 and 44. The average age at death was found to be between 41 and 42 years. One-third (32%) of all deaths were due to tuberculosis and more than one in ten (10.8%) to pneumonia and other diseases of the respiratory system. Of the 48 deaths among workers less than 25 years old, tuberculosis claimed 24 and the other respiratory diseases 7. Among the 266 deaths of men 25 to 34 years old 53.8 per cent. were caused by these same diseases, 119 by tuberculosis and 24 by pneumonia, etc.

"The dirtiness of the work of taking ware off the leer, combined with the necessity of a constant stooping posture and the

general character of the place where the work is done, tends to have a coarsening influence upon the women so employed. They work very often in intimate association with a few men. . . . It may be stated unqualifiedly that taking ware off the leer is work unfit for women. . . . During the year of this investigation there were 15 factories employing women and girls at this work . . . 9 under 16 (years)." Page 300.

"The work of capping jars is one of absolute simplicity, requiring no skill or training whatsoever. . . . The work is done entirely by hand, but in the larger factories conveyors are now generally used in order to quicken the speed. . . . In all but one of the factories the cappers are required to stand at their work constantly." Page 304.

"Certain classes of glassware, such as tumblers, shades, and all screw-neck bottles and jars, come from the leer with necks rough and jagged. . . . In the case of the cheaper articles which require no special finishing except smoothing of the neck, the removing of the excess shoulder or roughness is done by simply chipping or filing with an iron tool. . . . Always there is some scattering of the glass and occasionally the pieces fly in the face of the worker. Flesh cuts, particularly on the hands, are frequent, especially with the younger or more careless girls." Page 305.

"In the finishing department (where finer varieties of glassware receive their final decoration by grinding, fluting, bevelling, etching, color applications, etc.) during the course of the investigation no less than 150 occupations of women were listed." Page 308.

"From the standpoint of the employees the worst economic feature of the ordinary finishing room is probably the presence of broken glass upon the floor. The establishments where this condition does not prevail are very few. Apart from the danger of more or less serious cuts and injuries arising from this loose glass, the destruction of shoes is a very serious matter with employees." Page 340.

"The evil features of the badly equipped factories tend rather toward physical discomfort than toward actual unhealthfulness. The work of finishing glass has some processes, such as sandblasting and etching, which are positively harmful to health. But

such effects are usually limited to the persons engaged in the specific occupations, the number of whom, in total, is not large."

Twenty-one accidents, causing a loss in each case of at least two days time, had occurred among the women and girls during the year just previous to the investigation. The one fatal accident occurred to a woman fluter 18 years of age who became entangled in the belting while trying to adjust it to her fluting wheel. "The great majority of all the accidents were due to broken glass. . . . In such occupations as grinding and fluting the danger is more acute because the rapidly revolving wheel tends to make the breaking more violent. Flesh cuts of this character are rather common. Usually they cause the loss of no more time than that necessary for bandaging." Page 356.

"It is to be specifically noted that this account of accidents among women in the glass industry does not include those women who are working in a few so-called glass factories where metal caps for jars and bottles, pressed brass decorations for lamps, and similar articles are made, but where little or no actual glass work is done. All such work requires the use of stamping presses of considerable power, and these presses are exceedingly dangerous to the fingers of their operators." Page 357.

The working day of girls in the finishing department was in general longer than that of the boys in the furnace room. Only 40 or 6.9 per cent. worked as little as 50 hours or less per week; 131 or 22.5 per cent. worked 55 hours, 242 worked a 58-hour week, and 50 or 8.6 per cent. worked 6 full days of 10 hours each. There was practically no night work by women and none at all by girls under 16, in the sense of working on a night shift, but overtime beyond the scheduled hours was common.

In a class by themselves, are the establishments manufacturing incandescent lamps. The report covers three such factories, employing 4,123 workers of whom 12 were boys and 72 girls (pages 460 and 493) under 16 years of age. "The two chief characteristics of the electric-lamp industry, the minuteness of the work and the extreme speed with which the operations are performed, while not peculiar to it, are found to exist in a degree almost without parallel in any other industry. . . . From the time the various filaments are baked until the 'mount' is completed the operators are dealing

with materials so delicate and minute that they can be clearly seen only in the best of light and by persons possessing at least normally good sight. To handle one such filament at leisure would be neither difficult nor trying; every day the housewife performs an equally delicate operation in threading a very fine cambric needle. If, however, this needle-threading operation were repeated two or three thousand times a day, and particularly if it were done at a piece rate, which urges one to the highest speed in order to increase one's earnings and to secure the higher rate paid for very rapid production, it would soon assume tremendous proportion to the person doing the work." Pages 477-478.

The report describes four methods by which manufacturers have systematically speeded-up the workers. "Besides these specific methods of increasing the output . . . the same results are secured by the regulation of piece rates. . . . The attitude is strikingly illustrated in the statement of a superintendent, who, when asked how he was able to maintain rapid production without the use of premiums, replied, 'We keep the piece rate so low that they have to keep right at it in order to make a living.' " Page 480.

In order to attain this accuracy and speed, the workers find it necessary to remain without interruption in the one posture best adapted for each process.

"In all the occupations in which gas flames are required to melt the glass of the bulb or stem, or to prepare the other materials for use, the operators are exposed to an unpleasant degree of heat and to the disagreeable and more or less injurious fumes of escaping gas. These conditions are accentuated in the electric-lamp industry, as ventilation from open windows is prohibited by the fact that a direct draft, which would carry away the heat and fumes, would cause the gas jets to flare," spoiling material and otherwise interfering seriously with the work. Page 484.

In testing the lamps (20,000 per day, 33 per minute, is the average output per employee in one establishment) an almost constant electrical current is passing through her body, a current powerful enough to give the person unused to it a distinct shock. One process exposes the workers engaged in it to the danger of phosphorous poisoning.

Sixty-three of the 72 girls under 16 in these establishments worked regularly a 10-hour day. The other five worked 9 or 9½ hours. The report makes no definite statement concerning overtime. "These hours are not very often exceeded. The exceptions occur usually during the fall." Page 493.

2. What Are the Opportunities Awaiting Child Workers in the Glass Industry?

In this discusion again, the boys and girls must be considered separately, since the occupations of men and of women in the glass industry are distinct, the great majority of men being employed in the furnace room and all of the women (with the exception of a few negro women) being employed in the leer room and finishing departments. The making of incandescent lamps is practically a woman's occupation also.

"The boy or youth entering the factory (furnace room) starts in at one of the so-called 'boys' occupations' with practically no instruction and at a low wage of about 90 cents. He remains at this same general class of work, and with but a slight increase in wage, usually about four years, acquiring in the meanwhile by observation and by occasional practice in gathering and blowing glass a considerable knowledge of the trade. At the end of this time he may (note that word *may*) get a chance to begin to practice his trade and to receive for his production one-half the blower's piece rate. With the constant practice of daily production his skill increases rapidly, so that within a relatively short time his earnings have grown by leaps and bounds until they become from $2.50 to $3.50 per day. At the end of five years, at apprentice's wages, he is paid at the journeyman's rate, and it is not until this time that he becomes a full-fledged blower, though all along he has been doing journeyman's work.

"As a matter of fact, however, it is possible for only a very small percentage of the boys to attain to an apprenticeship and become skilled workmen. . . . It would appear that if all shop boys began work at the age of 14, 1 out of each 3, 4, 5, or 6, depending on the specific regulation or agreement (between the employers and the glass workers' organization), would become apprentices. . . . In the agreement for 1909-1910 it is specifically stated that no apprentices shall be taken on during the year." Pages 153 and 235.

It should be noted that the use of the automatic machine has continued to increase since the publication of the report.

"When a youth reaches 18 or 19 and has not secured an apprenticeship, there are only two alternatives open: either he must remain indefinitely in the factory as an unskilled helper with an ever-decreasing opportunity for apprenticeship and with only an extremely small increase in wages as he becomes older, or he must leave the industry altogether. . . . He has lost the chances for an education and has sacrificed the years during which knowledge is most easily acquired. He can re-enter the industrial world only as an unskilled laborer or start in some new trade at the bottom." Page 154.

The report gives a table of earnings of 12,467 employees in boys' occupations. Of the 3,177 workers who were over 18 years of age, only 156 or less than 5 per cent. earned as much as $10 a week and 423 or more than one in eight earned less than $6. More than three-fifths of the "boys" over 18 years old were in the wage group $6 to $7.99 per week.

Furthermore, it is suggestive to read (pages 515-516) that, outside of a few New Jersey towns where glass is the dominant industry and glass blowing has been an hereditary trade, as it still is in fast lessening degree, "it is very unusual for a blower to permit his sons or daughters to work in the glass factory, much less deliberately to encourage them to do so."

In the work of the leer room and finishing department, where all the women and girls are employed, there appears to be little opportunity for training and promotion. The highly skilled work is practically all done by a few men, and while a few of the women's occupations are better paid than the others, the report finds little or no promotion from one occupation to another. "Such promotion as takes place is almost always within the occupation. . . . If a girl begins as a mold cleaner she will probably remain a mold cleaner, with little increase in salary. If she begins as a wrapper she will have more chance of obtaining an increased wage with increased efficiency, but very little chance of becoming, say, a chuck grinder. If, as a final instance, she begins as a painter or enameler, her early earnings are probably very low but she has an oppor-

tunity of increasing them in an important degree." Page 414. "There are only four occupations—needle etching, hand flute cutting, glazing and chuck grinding—in which the median wage is more than $6 a week, and all of these are occupations having very small memberships." Page 413.

A comparison of wages and ages shows a far larger proportion earning $8 and $10 a week among the women 25 to 29 years old than among the women either younger or older.

"The general level of wages in the electric-lamp industry is, for the women at least, relatively high. The average earnings per hour of all women over 16 years is 13.71 cents, which, assuming a 10-hour day and a 55-hour week as a rule for the industry, means approximately $7.50 per week as the average wage." Page 494. There is no occupation in which the average earnings per hour were found to be less than 10 cents and only one in which the average weekly earnings were less than $6. But in spite of these high averages 582 or 21.1 per cent. of the women were earning less than $6 a week and only 630 or 22.8 per cent. carned $9 or more. The maximum earning period falls not between 25 and 29 years but between 21 and 24. The following table of earnings is suggestive in connection with statements elsewhere in the report concerning the extraordinary speed and minuteness of the work.

*Number and Per cent. of Female Employees of Specified Ages in Incandescent Electric Lamp Establishments Receiving Each Classified Amount of Full Weekly Earnings.**

Age	Under $6		$6 to $8.99		$9 and over		Total	
	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.
16—20	436	26.6	916	55.8	249	15.5	1601	100
21—24	19	8.4	139	61.7	67	29.7	225	100
25—29	56	10.3	294	54.4	191	35.3	541	100
30—over	23	17.6	69	53.0	38	29.2	130	100

This table shows that the largest percentage of workers earning more than $9 a week is found in the age group 21-24 years and that more than one in six of the workers 30 years of age and older is earning less than $6 a week.

* Condensed from table on page 497.

It would appear therefore that the boy's chance of promotion to well-paid work in the glass factory is increasingly small. The young girl's chance of fair wages depends more than the boy's on her own dexterity and carefulness, but except in the electric-lamp factories, the earnings of the average girl will remain below $6 a week.

3. What Is the Attitude of the Glass Industry Toward Child Labor?

"In connection with the glass industry, to a greater extent than with any other, the claim has been made that there is certain work about the factory which is an indispensable part of production and which can be satisfactorily performed by young boys only." Page 145. And yet between 1880 and 1905 the percentage of boys under 16 had decreased from 29 per cent. to 12.6 per cent. and the number of boys had remained practically stationary while the number of males over 16 had increased almost 200 per cent. "The most impelling cause (for the decrease in proportion of boys under 16) has been the growing sentiment in most communities against the employment of young children at factory work. . . . There has been an increasing scarcity of 'small help' and an increasing demand for such as was available. The usual glass manufacturer continued, and still continues, to want a considerable number of small boys in the furnace room. He wants them partly because he thinks them more efficient at the particular work and partly because they are cheaper." Page 155.

Comparative Efficiency of Boys as Reported by 132 Establishments.

	Establishments Reporting.	
	Number.	Per cent.
Boys under 16 years more efficient	57	43.2
Boys of 16 years and over more efficient	13	9.8
Boys of all ages equally efficient	40	30.3
Boys under 16 years more efficient on small ware, but boys of 16 years and over, as or more, efficient on large ware	22	16.7
	132	100

"It would seem that the majority opinion favored the older boy to an even greater extent than the table would indicate; for

the traditions of the trade are so much in favor of the child that the opinions of many of those who favored the child were no doubt influenced, although unconsciously, by an inherited trade idea which they themselves had never given an actual test." Page 200.

"Children are employed as mold boys, snapping-up boys, carrying-in boys, etc., primarily because they will work for a lower wage than will boys of 16 or over." Page 201.

"The item of boy-labor cost in a given article can be isolated and a study made of the variations in costs which would follow changes in the wages of the boys." Page 202. The report concludes that "Whether the manufacturer, jobber, druggist, or public took the increase in cost resulting from adult labor in the glass industry would not be serious." Page 208.

"Substitutes for child labor, in the form of adult labor, machinery, new methods of work, etc., gradually suggested themselves. But for the most part, such substitutes have been tried only under the compulsion of circumstances and not until every effort has been made to maintain a full equipment of youthful labor." Page 156.

"There are three factors within the industry which have greatly contributed to lessening the value of the boy; first, with the increasing demand for his services the boy has learned to demand higher wages so that the difference between his wages and those of an adult or at least those of a youth of 17 or 18 years has decreased very rapidly; secondly, the increased use of machinery demands larger and stronger youths or men; and, finally, the increasing size of the establishments and the more complete organization of the industry have made it desirable to have a class of employees who are more regular in their work and more likely to abide by their contracts than the boy, who is seldom entirely dependent on his own earnings and consequently, so far as economic reasons are concerned, is free to come and go as he chooses. As a result of all these causes, and particularly within the last five or six years, adults have been introduced into the industry in increasingly large numbers." Page 165. . . . The adults which are of peculiar interest are the old men, cripples, and convicts employed. In a number of factories old men of 55 years and upwards

were found, chiefly carrying in or holding molds, but also in many instances cleaning off or snapping up." Page 171.

The report describes at length the mechanical devices which had recently been installed in certain factories to do the work of carrying in and which in every case were tended by adults or by older boys. The Owens automatic bottle blowing machine was comparatively new at the time of the investigation, and apparently only one factory had installed it. The report states:

"In the hand-bottle shops about one-third the boys employed are under 16 years of age; in the Owens machine shop only 1 boy out of 143 scheduled was under 16 years of age. . . . It is not at all impossible that a boy under 16 should have the necessary qualifications, but it is rather uncommon. Furthermore, if such a boy be as efficient as a man, he is not more so, and the dictum of some hand-shop employers that the younger the boy the better has no point here." Page 196.

"In contrast to the furnace-room work of the glass factory there is no sentiment that child labor in the finishing department is particularly necessary or desirable except in the matter of lower wages." Page 291.

4. How Young Were the Children and What Restrictions Should Be Placed Upon the Employment of Minors in the Glass Industry?

Of 3,615 boys under 16 whose ages were given, 262 were less than 14 years old; of the 481 girls under 16, only 15 were under 14 years. Seven of the girls under 14 were illegally employed in Pennsylvania and Indiana, and eight were found in West Virginia where the legal age limit at that time was 12 years. Of the 262 boys under 14, 145 were illegally employed in states with a 14-year limit, and 22 were illegally employed in states with a 12-year limit. The youngest girls were 12 years old, but among the boys there were 2 of 9 years, 14 of 10 years, and 20 of 11 years.

It is likely that the number and the percentage of children under 14 has been greatly reduced since this investigation was made, not only because the legal age limit has been raised from 12 to 14 years in Maryland, West Virginia, and with exemptions, in Virginia, but also, because in all of these 16 states except Georgia, the provisions concerning employment certificates or factory inspec-

tion or both have been greatly strengthened and the enforcement of the law correspondingly improved.

The employment of boys at night has been lessened by the prohibition of night work under 16 years in 12 instead of 5 of these 16 glass-making states. And for nearly 2,000 boys the regular working day has been reduced by the passing of an 8-hour day in 7 states (besides New York and Illinois where it was already in force in 1908). But in the three states in which the largest percentages of the workers were children and in whose glass factories 3,290 boys and girls were employed in 1908, night work is still permitted. West Virginia has set no limit of hours at any time; Maryland and Pennsylvania have fixed a legal working-day of 10 hours, but allow the 10 hours to fall in any part of the 24. Surely, the report's bare record of conditions is a sufficient argument for the need of such minimum protection for the children as a 14-year age limit, and an 8-hour day and no night work under 16 years. Surely, also, no one can read that record of conditions—heat and exposure, speed and nervous tension, overstrain and monotony, absence of training and opportunity—without wondering whether these minimum standards are not grotesquely insufficient, and whether Ohio, with her 16-year limit for girls at all times, has not set a standard which all states should apply for both sexes without further delay.

In fact, 11 of these 16 states have already fixed a 16-year age limit for certain kinds of dangerous employments. But there are dangers which can never be recorded in accidents but which threaten no less seriously the well-being of the child. Of such dangers, the glass industry in all its phases offers conspicuous examples.

All of the arguments against night work by children under 16 apply with equal force to older children under 18 and in fact to all minors and all women. Therefore we would add to our plea for a 16-year limit in the glass factory, an 8-hour day and prohibition of night work for minors. The 8-hour day is recognized as good for grown men; it need not be specially defended for young people—it is too obviously just. And night work by women has been condemned by all civilized countries but our own. For older boys, the night shift in the glass house means not only a physical strain but a moral hazard that cannot be afforded.

Chief Provisions
of
Existing Child Labor Laws (1914)
in
16 Glass Manufacturing States Investigated in 1908
and
Employing Children Under 16 at that Time in Glass Factories

State.	Age Limit. Factories.	Specified Dangerous Occupations.	Employment Certificates.	Working Day in Factories.	Night Work in Factories.
Georgia	12 (exemptions)	None	"Any child" Poor	Minors, sunrise to sunset	Prohibited under 14 years, 7 p.m.-6 a.m.
Illinois	14	16	14-16 Fair	14-16 years, 8 hours. All women, 10 hours.	Prohibited 14-16 years, 7 p.m.-7 a.m.
Indiana	14	16, 18	14-16 Good	14-16 years, 8 hours (nine with consent of parents). Girls 17-18, 10 hours.	Prohibited 14-16 years, 6 p.m.-7 a.m. All women 10 p.m.-6 a.m.
Kansas	14	None	14-16 Poor	14-16 years, 8 hours.	Prohibited 14-16 years, 6 p.m.-7 a.m.
Maryland	14	16, 18	14-16 Good	14-16 years and all women, 10 hours.	No restriction
Massachusetts	14	16, 18	14-16 Good; 16-21 Fair	14-16 years, 8 hours. Boys, 16-18, Girls, 16-21, 10 hours, 54-hour week.	Prohibited 14-16 years, 6 p.m.-6.30 a.m Boys 16-18, Girls 16-21 in textile mills, 6 p.m.-5 a.m. Other occupations, 10 p.m.-5 a.m.
Missouri	14	16, 18	14-16 Fair	14-16 years, 8 hours. All women, 9 hours.	Prohibited 14-16 years, 7 p.m.-7 a.m.
New Jersey	14	16	14-16 Good	14-16 years, 8 hours. All women, 10 hours.	Prohibited 14-16 years, 7 p.m.-7 a.m.

State.	Age Limit. Factories.	Specified Dangerous Occupations.	Employment Certificates.	Working Day in Factories.	Night Work in Factories.
New York	14	16, 18	14-16 Good	14-16 years, 8 hours. Boys, 16-18, and all women, 9 hours.	Prohibited 14-16 years, 5 p.m.-8 a.m. Girls 16-21, 9 p.m.-6 a.m. Boys 16-18, 12 m.-4 a.m.
Ohio	Boys, 15 Girls, 16	16, 18 16, 18	Boys, 15 Girls, 16-18 Good	Boys 15, Girls 16-18, 8 hours. Boys 16-18, Girls 18-21, 10 hours, 54-hour week.	Prohibited Boys 15, Girls 16-18, 6 p.m.-7 a.m. Boys 16-18, Girls 18-21, 10 p.m.-6 a.m.
Pennsylvania	14	16, 18	14-16 Fair	Boys 14-16, 10 hours, 58-hour week. Boys 14-16, employed at night, 9 hours. All women, 10 hours, 54-hour week.	Prohibited Boys 14-16, 9 p.m.-6 a.m. *except* in glass factories. Girls 16-21, 9 p.m.-6 a.m.
So. Carolina	12	None	12-14 Poor	No limit except in textile mills, 10 hours, 60-hour week.	Prohibited 12-16 years, 8 p.m.-6 a.m.
Tennessee	14	16	14-16 Poor	14-16 years and all women, 10½ hours, 58-hour week.	Prohibited 14-16 years, 6 p.m.-6 a.m.
Virginia	14	None	14-16 Fair	14-16 years and all women, 10 hours.	Prohibited 14-16 years, 9 p.m.-7 a.m.
W. Virginia	14	15	14-16 Good	No limit	No restriction
Wisconsin	14	16, 18	14-16 Good	14-16 years, 8 hours. All women, 10 hours, 55-hour week; 8 hours if part of work comes between 8 p.m. and 6 a.m.	Prohibited 14-16 years, 6 p.m.-7 a.m.

SOME RESULTS

OF THE

National Child Labor Committee's Work

FORTY-SEVEN states have enacted new or improved child labor or compulsory education laws since the Committee's organization in 1904.

The UNIFORM CHILD LABOR LAW, drafted by the Committee, has been unanimously endorsed by the American Bar Association.

The Children's Bureau in the Federal Government was secured in 1912, through a bill drafted and a six year campaign waged by the Committee.

The PALMER CHILD LABOR BILL was introduced in Congress, January 26, 1914. Its promotion is one of the Committee's chief interests this year.

The Committee employs expert investigators to study and photograph child labor conditions throughout the country.

Employs legislative experts to draft and help secure improved laws.

Publishes the quarterly CHILD LABOR BULLETIN, a Study Course, and other literature on all phases of child labor.

Provides public lecturers.

Rents typewritten lecture with stereopticon slides showing children at work.

Furnishes exhibits of photographs, charts, diagrams and samples of children's work.

Co-operates with physicians, officials, educators, etc., to provide to children excluded from work, the physical, mental and moral opportunities needed to develop efficient citizenship.

Co-operates with relief societies to provide "scholarships" for poor families whose children are forbidden work.

7,500 members subscribed $56,602 in 1912-13. The work is supported entirely by these voluntary subscriptions. $100,000 a year are needed to do the work effectively.

.....

To V. EVERIT MACY, Treasurer
National Child Labor Committee,
105 East 22nd Street, New York

I enclose $.....for the help of little children at work in tenement sweatshops, coal breakers and coal mines, cotton mills, glass factories, etc.

Enroll me in your membership and as a subscriber for the coming year for the quarterly CHILD LABOR BULLETIN for which $1 of the above amount is intended.

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ORGANIZED APRIL 15, 1904

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TO RAISE THE STANDARD OF PUBLIC OPINION AND PARENTAL RESPONSIBILITY WITH RESPECT TO THE EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN.

TO ASSIST IN PROTECTING CHILDREN BY SUITABLE LEGISLATION AGAINST PREMATURE OR OTHERWISE INJURIOUS EMPLOYMENT, AND THUS TO AID IN SECURING FOR THEM AN OPPORTUNITY FOR ELEMENTARY EDUCATION, AND PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT SUFFICIENT FOR THE DEMANDS OF CITIZENSHIP AND THE REQUIREMENTS OF INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY.

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The
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Year Ending September 30, 1914

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EDITORIAL NOTES

The war is testing our loyalties. Among us who are not fighting, it is calling forth the patriotisms of peace, and the cause of the children has not suffered—yet. In spite of hard times our friends responded generously to our September appeal and within two weeks banished our fear of closing the fiscal year with a $5,000 indebtedness. Of course the real test is still to come, but we believe our members will stand by us as they have done in the past, renewing their contributions promptly and enabling us to meet the special opportunities of the coming year without a curtailment of our activities. We feel sure that many share the spirit of a letter that came to us last month, on the reverse side of our letter of appeal:

FINANCE AND THE WAR.

> "There are five women and four men whose names are printed on the other side of this sheet for whom I would do whatever they asked me, if it were in my power. I can't do much but I send a trifle, for I feel that those of us who don't give out of a superabundance (and so are less likely than those who do to be compelled to retrench) must do our full share, or a little more, now. Perhaps the trifle I have given to your cause before and now will not seem warrant for so much emotion—yet I have it, even with so little cause. One of the advantages of being poor is that you are able to feel good over small things—even a small subcription."

These words have called forth among all our staff a renewed sense of responsibility to make our every effort count. As we face the winter's work, one thing stands out as of chief importance: without relaxing our state campaigns, we must work for federal legislation by the present Congress. The Palmer-Owen bill has been favorably reported by the House Committee on Labor, and as we go to press we are hopeful that it may pass the House and receive favorable action in the Senate. A surprisingly large number of Senators and Congressmen, representing all

THE WINTER'S WORK.

political parties, have endorsed the bill, but the promptness with which they will bring it to a vote will largely depend on the insistent interest of the public. This, in turn, depends upon you, our members.

THE NEXT STEP.

It will be remembered that when the Beveridge bill was pending in Congress seven years ago, the whole question of federal child labor legislation was set aside pending a federal investigation of the condition of woman and child wage-earners. The findings of this investigation appeared from time to time until in 1913, a Senate Document of nineteen volumes was completed. The size of the edition was limited and the material was presented in a detailed statistical form, quite baffling to the casual reader. We have published a few excerpts from certain of the more striking findings, but the material as a whole has never been presented in a condensed and readable form and the purpose of the investigation—to furnish to the people of the country evidence concerning the need of legislation—has never been accomplished. Therefore we are preparing brief summaries of those volumes that deal with child labor. Two of these were published in our August BULLETIN and four are included in the present number. Not the least interesting conclusion suggested by them is the realization that, while federal legislation is urgently needed to protect the children in mills and factories, this will leave still unsolved the larger problem of children in other occupations. The seriousness of their situation is indicated in Mr. Hall's compilation of the volume on Juvenile Delinquency, and the extent of their employment, in Dr. Clopper's review of the new Census figures.

THE CAMPAIGN STATES.

Bills relating to child labor or education will be introduced in a majority of the forty-two states whose legislatures meet this year. There are a few storm centres where violent disturbance of the legislative atmosphere can safely be predicted. Three of the perennially backward states are considering promotion to a higher class: Texas, the largest state with the shortest law; Alabama, where child labor outside of factories and mines is

utterly unregulated, and children of 12 are allowed to work in the cotton mills; and West Virginia, a paradise for the glass manufacturer who wants young boys on the night shift. Illinois and Connecticut are conspicuous examples of states once leaders but now behind the best in those points which no federal law could regulate. Illinois permits any child of 14 who can read and write to go to work, and both Illinois and Connecticut have failed hitherto to attempt any regulation of the demoralizing night messenger service and other street trades. In Iowa, an 8-hour day for children under 16 and the regulation of street trades will be the points at issue, and in North and South Carolina, such elementary provisions as a 14-year limit for all the common occupations. It is impossible to enumerate all of even the most important provisions that we hope to see incorporated this winter in the laws of these states, and others.

ARKANSAS AND GEORGIA.

The first child labor law to be enacted by the initiative has just been passed in Arkansas. It is based on the Uniform Child Labor Law, and brings Arkansas into the group of ten states whose child labor laws include all the four provisions of the pending federal bill. The campaign, in which we cooperated with the State Federation of Labor, commenced early in the year and continued through the summer months. The bill was passed by a larger majority than any other of the fifteen measures presented to the voters. It remains to be seen whether this general interest in the law will continue and result in an unusually strict enforcement of its provisions. Less satisfactory in every way was our summer campaign in Georgia. The 14-year limit went through—but poor children over 12 are exempt. Employment certificates are required—but only for children between 14 and 14½. Night work is prohibited—but not for children 14½ and older. This mutilated statute, much amended during its passage through the Senate, is an excellent example of the kind of child labor law the cotton mill interests want. When next they claim that *they* have been responsible for the child labor laws of their respective states, we shall be quite ready to agree that to them we owe the laws' defects.

FEDERAL CHILDREN'S BUREAU.

One final word about the Children's Bureau. The appropriation about which we wrote to our members last spring was granted in full and at last the Bureau can undertake the various lines of work for which it was established. What Miss Lathrop and her limited staff have already accomplished is nothing less than amazing. During the last few months they have published a pamphlet on the New Zealand Society for the Health of Women and Children, a compilation of laws relating to "Mothers' Pensions" in the United States, Denmark and New Zealand, and a revised edition of the pamphlet on Birth Registration. At present the Bureau is studying the administration of child labor laws in seven states. More and more, after the Bureau is organized on the larger scale, will their studies and investigations deal with the problems we have set out to solve, and enable us to concentrate our efforts on the work of propaganda and campaigning which the Children's Bureau is forbidden to undertake.

TENTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

GENERAL SECRETARY

OF THE

NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

For the Fiscal Year Ending September 30, 1914

OWEN R. LOVEJOY, General Secretary

With the closing of the Tenth Fiscal Year, the National Child Labor Committee is able to view the record of achievement with gratitude to the courageous group who have made its work possible and with confidence that the abolition of the abuses of child labor is a possibility in America within the life of the present generation.

The following chart, comparing a few of the more important provisions of child labor laws in the various states in 1904 and 1914, shows the development of public thought. Many technical details are omitted, but the features here specified are typical:

NUMBER OF STATES HAVING CERTAIN PROVISIONS IN 1904, AS COMPARED WITH NUMBER IN 1914

PROVISIONS	1904	1914
14-year limit for factories	13	36
8-hour day under 16 years	1	18
Night work prohibited under 16 years	5	34
Factory inspection	13	36

NOTE.—States having exemptions which practically nullify any of these provisions have *not* been included.

Within this decade the Committee has created the first literature on the subject of child labor in America, and has issued and distributed over 16,000,000 pages of printed matter.

Our contributing membership has grown from 36 in 1904 to 8,733 in 1914. We have no endowment nor subsidy, and live entirely by the annual voluntary contributions of our members. Yet our annual income has increased from $13,550 the first year to $68,684.92 in the year closed today.

It was hoped in 1904 that child labor could be abolished in ten years of hard work. We have been disillusioned. More has been done than seemed possible within the period, but the field is immensely larger than was supposed. We now know where child labor exists and in what forms. We know what forces must be opposed in seeking legislation. We have learned the importance of practical education for all children and how to cooperate with educators to promote it. We have been instrumental in setting on foot the most important public service ever rendered by the Federal Government, in the establishment of the Federal Children's Bureau. We are now at the door of Congress asking our Government to outlaw traffic among the states in the products of child labor and are in touch with the earnest people in every state in the Union who are working for the control of the abuse at home.

With the continued support of those who have proven their faith in this work and of the thousands who will rally to our help in the future, we anticipate far larger achievements in the next ten years than in the past.

I. New Legislation

Fourteen states held legislative sessions within the year. The most important changes in child labor laws were in Arkansas, Kentucky and New Jersey, in all of which the 8-hour day was secured for all children under 16 years. This law in New York, formerly applied only to manufacturing establishments, was extended this year to apply to mercantile establishments.

Special interest attaches to the new law in Arkansas from the fact that it is the first child labor law in any commonwealth to be secured by popular initiative. In cooperation with the

Arkansas Federation of Labor we drafted a bill last spring, following the defeat of our bill in the legislature. The law required some 13,000 signatures to the petition in order to submit the bill to popular vote. In April we sent our Special Agent, Mr. Jones, who aroused public interest with the result that over 22,000 signatures were secured. At the election on September 14, the bill was enacted into law by a vote of 72,313 to 25,300, a larger vote and larger majority than for any other of the fifteen measures before the people.

Less striking legislative gains were secured in Georgia, Mississippi, Virginia and Maryland.

We regret to have to report the defeat of our bills in Rhode Island and South Carolina; and backward steps in Mississippi and Maryland.

The legislative changes in detail are summarized as follows:

ARKANSAS.—14 years for all occupations.

16 years for dangerous occupations, saloons and theatres.

8-hour day and no night work for children under 16.

10-hour day, and 54-hour week for children under 18.

Night work prohibited, 7 P. M. to 6 A. M., for children under 16; 10 P. M. to 6 A. M., for children under 18.

Work permits showing age and completion of fourth grade for all under 16.

Exemption—children under 14 may work for parents in vacation.

GEORGIA.—14 years in mills, factories, laundries, manufacturing establishments and places of amusement, except for children of dependent mothers, or orphans, for whom the age limit is 12.

Employment certificates, issued by school superintendent, required of all children 14–14½, showing age and twelve weeks of schooling in twelve months preceding.

Night work prohibited between 7 P. M. and 6 A. M., children 14–14½, in establishments named in first paragraph.

Children of dependent parents or orphans to be investigated by committee of county school superintendent, ordinary of county, head of school in school district where child lives, before child receives certificate to work when under 14 years.

KENTUCKY.—14-year age limit extended (occupations in italics were added this year): factory, *mill*, workshop, mercantile establishment, store, office, *printing establishment*, *bakery*, *laundry*, restaurant, hotel, apartment house, *theatre*, *motion picture establishment*, or in the distribution or transmission of merchandise or messages.

8-hour day under 16.

16-year limit for dangerous occupations extended, including mines and quarries; 21 years for night messengers.

14 years for boys, 18 for girls in street trades in first, second, and third-class cities.

Completion of fifth grade and physician's certificate required for employment certificate.

LOUISIANA.—14-year age limit extended (occupations in italics were added this year): *mills, factories*, mines, packing houses, manufacturing establishments, *workshops, laundries, millinery* or *dressmaking* or mercantile establishments, or *hotels*, or *restaurants*, or in any theatre, concert hall, or in or about any place of amusement where intoxicating liquors are made or sold, or in any bowling alley, bootblacking establishment, freight, or passenger elevator, or *in the distribution or transmission of messages, either telegraph or telephone, or any other messages, or merchandise*, or in other occupation not herein enumerated which may be deemed unhealthful or dangerous.

Exemption abolished which permitted employment of children under 14 in establishments where less than 5 persons were employed.

10-hour day for minors under 18 and all women, extended to include occupations prohibited to 14.

MASSACHUSETTS.—8 separate bills were introduced in an attempt to repeal the 8-hour law, but all were defeated.

MISSISSIPPI.—Office of State Labor Inspector created.

NEW JERSEY.—14-year limit extended (occupations in italics were added this year): *newspaper plant, printery*, factory, workshop, mill, *commercial laundry, mercantile establishment, mine or quarry.*

8-hour day under 16.

Special permit for children 10 to 16 in street work, when necessary for family support, but not between 7 P. M. and 6 A. M.

Agricultural work exempt from permit and hour regulation.

School attendance exemption certificates to be issued by school authorities after seeing documentary proof of age.

Completion of fifth grade and physical examination required for certificate.

NEW YORK.—8-hour day, 48-hour week, under 16, in mercantile establishments and twelve other occupations including offices, hotels, messenger service; employment prohibited between 6 P. M. and 8 A. M.

Newsboys over 12, on routes, may work after school to 6.30 P. M. with permit; over 14 between 5.30 and 8 A. M. with permit.

9-hour day, 54-hour week, women over 16, in same occupations; not between 10 P. M. and 7 A. M., except December 18 to 24.

Bureau of Employment for adults and children established.

NEW YORK CITY.—Bureau of Compulsory Education, School Census and Child Welfare established in Department of Education to enforce attendance law.

OHIO.—Effort to repeal law defeated.

VIRGINIA.—14-year limit extended (occupations in italics added this year): factory, workshop, mine, mercantile establishment, ***laundry, bakery, brick or lumber yard,*** as messenger for telegraph, telephone, or messenger company, in the distribution, transmission or delivery of goods or messages in cities of 5,000.

10-hour day, 6-day week, not between 9 P. M. and 7 A. M., under 16.

18-year limit for night messengers.

10 years for boys, 16 for girls, street trading in cities of 5,000.

14 years for distributing, delivering, selling merchandise during school hours or after 7 P. M.

Employment certificates issued by notary public on documentary proof of age.

Child exempt on petition to court by parent or guardian.

Unfavorable Legislation

MARYLAND.—Age limit for newsboys reduced from 12 to 10 years.

MISSISSIPPI.—8-hour law amended to apply only to boys under 14, girls under 16. (Formerly applied to boys under 16, girls under 18).

RHODE ISLAND.—Bill providing 12 year limit for boys and 16 for girls in street trades defeated.

SOUTH CAROLINA.—Bill establishing 13-year age limit, January, 1915, and 14-year limit, January, 1916, defeated.

Compulsory school bill providing for local option on school attendance of children 8 to 12, defeated.

The Committee was represented by some member of the staff in the following states:

Arkansas	Mississippi
Georgia	New Jersey
Kentucky	Ohio
Maryland	Rhode Island
Massachusetts	Virginia
South Carolina	

II. Investigation

Investigations have been conducted in the following states:

Administration of child labor laws	Kentucky, New Jersey, Mississippi, Virginia, West Virginia.
Textile and other mills	Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, New Jersey, North Carolina, South Carolina.

Agriculture and canneries	Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, New Jersey, Texas.
Night messenger service	Connecticut, Louisiana, Texas, West Virginia.
Coal, iron and zinc mines	New Jersey, West Virginia.
Street trades	Connecticut, Louisiana, New Jersey.
Canal, coal and freight barges	New York.
Homework	New Jersey, New York.

The aggregate amount of time given to investigation in units of one worker for one month is as follows:

Administration of child labor laws	18
Textile and other mills	15
Agricultural and canneries	7
Night messenger service	5
Coal, iron and zinc mines	2
Street trades	4
Canal, coal and freight barges	2
Homework	4
Total	57

Reports on the activities of our workers have appeared from to time in the pamphlets issued through the year and cannot here be described in detail without enlarging this report unduly.

Dr. McKelway has been continued at the Washington office to conduct the campaign for the Palmer-Owen Federal Child Labor Bill and to direct the field work in Southern States. His labors have been especially in Maryland, South Carolina and Virginia.

Dr. Clopper has directed the field campaigns in Connecticut, Kentucky, Mississippi and New Jersey, and has assisted with the general work in the New York office, and has also made an investigation of the coal mines at Eccles, West Virginia, in April, where the bodies of 5 young boys were found among the victims of the mine disaster.

Mr. Swift has remained in charge of the work in North and South Carolina; has investigated the cotton mill conditions, and directed campaigns for better legislation.

Mr. Hine has been in charge of our exhibit for the greater part of the year, compiling material for exhibit screens, conducting correspondence, and having charge of the exhibit in various

cities. He spent three months in a study of cotton picking, factories, mercantile establishments, textile mills and night messenger service in Texas, Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi.

III. Children's Bureau Appropriation

On April 2 the Committee on Appropriations in the House of Representatives at Washington recommended an appropriation of $25,640 instead of $164,640 asked by Miss Julia C. Lathrop, Chief of the Children's Bureau. We immediately sent a letter to all our members and a telegram to all state child labor committees, asking each to write or telegraph their Representatives and Senators protesting against this report of the House Committee, and urging them to use their influence to get the full appropriation. Letters and telegrams, in response to our appeal, began to reach Congressmen and we believe this, together with the personal interviews of Dr. McKelway, was in a measure responsible for the gratifying result. On April 17 by a roll-call vote, the House passed the entire appropriation by a majority of 276 to 47. This was confirmed by vote of the Senate, and the Federal Children's Bureau is now in a position to undertake some of the important pieces of work its friends have hoped for.

IV. Tenth Annual Conference

The Tenth Annual Conference of the National Child Labor Committee met in New Orleans, Louisiana, at the invitation of the Louisiana Child Labor Committee, the Era Club and the Woman's Club, March 15–18, and is considered the best meeting ever held by the Committee. Thirty states were represented at this meeting, also Spain and Brazil. The general topic was "Child Labor and Law Enforcement," and the program included twelve sessions.

The Conference was opened in a unique way by an outdoor mass meeting in the public park with an attendance of approximately 4,000 people. This was said to be the largest outdoor mass meeting ever held in New Orleans. With this introduction our conference at once attained a prominent place in

public attention, and the sessions showed increased attendance as the meetings progressed, culminating in a Children's Meeting on the closing day, which far overtaxed the capacity of the auditorium.

The proceedings of the Conference were published as Volume III, Number I, of the CHILD LABOR BULLETIN, May, 1914.

V. FEDERAL LEGISLATION

On January 6 this Committee drafted a Federal Child Labor Bill to prevent interstate commerce in the products of child labor. The bill was introduced in the House, January 26, by Hon. A. Mitchell Palmer of Pennsylvania, and in the Senate, February 21, by Senator Robert L. Owen from Oklahoma. Hearings were held before the House Committee on Labor on February 27 and March 9 without opposition. A hearing for the opponents was held on May 22 at which the only opposition was presented by three cotton manufacturers from South Carolina. On August 13 the bill was reported favorably by the House Committee on Labor after being revised in its administrative features to conform to the provisions of the convict labor bill, but retaining all the standards in the original bill.

To meet arguments against the constitutionality of the measure and to answer queries, the Committee on June 25 retained the Legislative Drafting Bureau of Columbia University to report October 1 with supplementary reports following.

VI. CHILD LABOR DAY

January 25 was set apart as Child Labor Day and approximately 12,000 observance requests were circulated through the assistance of secretaries of the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, social service federations, state and city school superintendents, college presidents, and through the members of this Committee and its affiliated state committees. From the record of replies to this appeal, we estimate that the day was observed in about 14,000 churches, Sunday Schools, religious societies, public and private schools, and colleges.

VII. Publicity

Four issues of the quarterly Child Labor Bulletin, forty pamphlets, three leaflets, and an illustrated holiday publication have been issued this year. These publications aggregate a total of 4,166,184 pages.

The holiday publication entitled "Stories About the Other Child" was a compilation of stories, poems and illustrations by well known American authors and artists. This magazine was sold at 15 cents per copy, and handled through news agencies, college clubs, young people's associations of various churches, and through our own members. The edition was quickly exhausted, and many requests have been made for another issue of the same general character next year. The Committee desires to express its appreciation to those who by their generous contributions made the volume such a success.

Fifteen stories have been sent to our general list of 1,244 newspapers and 560 periodicals; 65 special articles were sent to selected lists of newspapers and periodicals; 18 letters for publication; 46 articles to newspapers in campaign states; 24 exhibit stories; 53 conference stories sent to individual newspapers and selected lists (including 17 extracts from speeches sent to news agencies), and 15 Child Labor Day notices.

Forty-nine periodicals and 394 newspapers are known to have used our material; 71 other newspapers and periodicals (not on our press service list) have also used it. 641 libraries were asked to give bulletin board publicity to our press service, and 94 responded favorably. Of the 234 separate stories sent out, 193 are known to have been published. All of the 15 general stories were carried.

We have found the demands for systematic publicity so heavy that a Publicity Department has been developed in charge of Miss Anna Rochester.

VIII. Exhibits

Our Exhibit Department has been considerably developed this year under the direction of Mr. Hine. Our old exhibit material has been revised and remodeled, and a number of new exhibits added. These have been tried out in various com-

munities and the exhibit has demonstrated its ability to put our cause before people in an impressive way, and the Department is now on a good basis.

Eleven exhibits have been built this year and have been shown in fifty cities in twenty different states, and sixteen places in New York City. A number of gatherings, including large conferences at which the exhibits have been shown, were attended by thousands of people, the accurate figures not being obtainable; and approximately every state in the Union was represented by those who viewed the exhibits. In New York City and vicinity the total recorded attendance was 46,141.

Over 30,270 leaflets and pamphlets have been distributed free in New York City and vicinity through the various exhibits.

We have planned to make our exhibit an educational rather than a money-getting feature of our work. However, during the year a total of $274.73 has been received through the exhibit, either in contributions, memberships, or the purchase of pamphlets.

It is our plan to have organizations using the exhibit pay expressage and a small rental to cover upkeep. Some communities are taking entire charge of the exhibit, *e. g.*, New Jersey Federation of Women's Clubs for whom we have made a second exhibit at their expense. Last year the University of Texas purchased one of our exhibits and is still using it, and several other universities are using exhibits on the same basis.

Nineteen sets of slides have been assembled for special occasions, and Mr. Hine has prepared 3 self-explanatory slide lectures on "The High Cost of Child Labor." We now have 7 permanent sets of slides which are sent out at a small rental to cover upkeep and expressage.

Our slide sets with lecture have been shown in forty-seven cities this year.

IX. Official Meetings

The Fifth Annual Meeting of the National Child Labor Committee Corporation met at the office of the Committee on October 30, 1913. No quorum being present the meeting adjourned to meet at the residence of Mr. Isaac N. Seligman,

on December 8, 1913. Nine members and the Secretary were present.

The following Trustees were elected for a term of 5 years to succeed themselves: Mrs. Florence Kelley, Dr. Edward T. Devine.

Mr. Adolph Lewisohn was elected for a term of 5 years to succeed Mr. Robert W. de Forest whose term expired and who declined to be considered for re-election. At this meeting the membership of the Corporation was increased to twenty members providing for an additional member in each of the 5 classes, whose terms of office expire in 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 years. The following were then elected: Rabbi Stephen S. Wise for a term of 5 years and Mrs. Caroline B. Alexander for a term of 4 years.

Four meetings of the Board of Trustees were held: October 30, December 8, January 22 and April 30. Two meetings of the Program Committee, two meetings of the Finance Committee, and three meetings of the Special Committee to consider Federal Legislation.

At the meeting of the Board of Trustees on December 8, a committee was appointed to submit to the Board of Trustees a list of persons representing various interests and sections of the country who might be invited to act as members of an Advisory Board for the year 1914. After careful consideration the following names were submitted and accepted the invitation of the Board to constitute this Advisory Committee.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

1914

HOOPER ALEXANDER, Georgia,
ROGER N. BALDWIN, Missouri,
MRS. EMMONS BLAINE, Illinois,
JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS, Massachusetts,
JOHN R. COMMONS, Wisconsin,
FREDERICK CRANE, Vermont,
ROBERT W. DE FOREST, New York,
HARVEY H. DURYÉE, California,
CHARLES W. ELIOT, Massachusetts,
ARTHUR F. ESTABROOK, Massachusetts,
ALBERT H. FREIBERG, M. D., Ohio,
JAMES, CARDINAL GIBBONS, Maryland,
JOHN M. GILLETTE, North Dakota,
JOHN GOLDEN, Massachusetts,
JEAN M. GORDON, Louisiana,
RIGHT REV. DAVID H. GREER, New York,
CURTIS GUILD, Massachusetts,
MRS. R. P. HALLECK, Kentucky,
JAMES H. KIRKLAND, Tennessee,
JULIA C. LATHROP, District of Columbia,
FRANK M. LEAVITT, Illinois,

A. W. McALISTER, North Carolina,
JOSEPH A. McCULLOUGH, South Carolina,
MRS. J. W. McGRIFF, Florida,
J. W. MAGRUDER, Maryland,
JOHN MITCHELL, New York,
MRS. BEVERLY B. MUNFORD, Virginia,
MRS. W. L. MURDOCH, Alabama,
MRS. PERCY V. PENNYBACKER, Texas,
GIFFORD PINCHOT, Pennsylvania,
CHARLES S. POTTS, Texas,
JULIUS ROSENWALD, Illinois,
CHARLES F. SMITH, Connecticut,
A. T. STOVALL, Mississippi,
GRAHAM TAYLOR, Illinois,
MRS. MILLIE R. TRUMBULL, Oregon.

X. MEMBERSHIP

The membership record at the close of the Tenth Fiscal Year as compared with the preceding year's record shows:

	NINTH YEAR		TENTH YEAR	
Donors	65	$18,025.00	73	$16,925.10
Sustaining Members	411	11,532.00	487	13,730.93
Contributing Members	(New Class of Membership 1914)		981	7,330.58
Associate Members	6,850	26,563.66	6,820	24,722.13
Contributors	439	481.63	372	1,080.23
	7,765	$56,602.29	8,733	$63,788.97
In response to Special Deficit Appeal, September 15			1,132	4,895.95
				$68,684.92

The work of the Membership Department under the direction of Miss Eschenbrenner has been increased because it becomes constantly more difficult to secure contributions through written appeals.

On the other hand the stability of our membership is most encouraging. The increased expenses of the year together with unfavorable business conditions during the closing months, made it evident at the end of August that we should face a deficit unless our members would cooperate in warding it off. Accordingly on September 15 a letter urging special contributions was sent to 6,244 members, bringing 1,132 returns, amounting to $4,895.95.

In November, 1913, a 10 days' membership campaign was conducted by the Membership Secretary in Montclair, N. J., resulting in 360 contributions amounting to $2,051.84. From July 3 to August 15, 1914, while our exhibit was on view at the annual meeting of the National Education Association at St. Paul, a similar campaign was conducted by the Membership Secretary in St. Paul and Minneapolis. 81 memberships were secured amounting to $955.70, in addition to a few unpaid pledges.

XI. Finances

Certain tendencies in our financial activities deserve careful consideration:

1. The amounts received from Donors are constantly decreasing.
2. The cost of securing new members is increasing.
3. The jeopardy in which our work is placed by any unfavorable conditions in the general industrial or financial situation makes it apparent that some more substantial foundation should be established to tide the Committee over periods of difficulty.

This latter fact was especially considered at the meeting of the Trustees on April 20, at which time it was decided that a committee should be appointed to secure a special fund of $100,000 to be expended within the next 5 or 10 years in the discretion of the Board of Trustees. The committee consisted of Adolph Lewisohn, Chairman, V. Everit Macy, Paul M. Warburg, Isaac N. Seligman and Charles P. Neill.

The financial record for the Tenth Fiscal Year appears in the following Treasurer's Report for the year ending September 30, 1914.

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING SEPTEMBER 30, 1914

As examined, audited and found correct by Haskins & Sells, New York, Certified Public Accountants.

DEBITS.

Balance on hand, October 1, 1913		$1,141.96
RECEIPTS—		
Subscription Account	$68,941.44	
Sales of Publications	898.94	
Rental of Slides and Exhibits	144.70	
Sales of Photographs and Slides	71.82	
Interest on Bank Deposits	32.90	
Loan Account	3,000.00	
Publicity	148.11	
Investigations	115.00	
Miscellaneous Receipts	192.89	
		73,545.80
		$74,687.76

CREDITS.

EXPENSES—		
Rent	$2,849.04	
Travel	2,411.50	
Telephone and Telegraph	565.82	
Investigations	15,910.19	
Postage	4,287.90	
Stationery and Office Supplies	1,551.58	
General Expenses	458.68	
Printing	8,355.30	
Purchase, Child Labor Material	237.46	
Exhibit Expenses	5,258.95	
Publicity	4,087.98	
Office Furniture and Fixtures	445.65	
Exhibits	219.50	
Advertisements	111.75	
Reserve Expenses, 9th Fiscal Year	46.48	
Subscription Account	355.61	
To Drafting Legislation and Special Campaigns	4,649.32	
Salaries, Administrative	8,499.99	
Salaries, Clerks, etc	3,000.00	
		$74,374.41
Balance on hand, September 30, 1914		$313.35

XII. Addresses and Conferences

This Committee maintains a staff of lecturers whose services are available for philanthropic, educational, religious, scientific and other conferences, and for addresses before women's clubs, boards of commerce, and other bodies. Terms for lecture engagements are furnished by correspondence with the office. In most instances the only expense involved is to defray the cost of travel on condition that appeals for membership in the Committee are permitted. Where engagements are filled in popular lecture courses, the customary rates are expected.

Within the past year we have not been able to accept all the invitations received, but the following list indicates the extent and distribution of these engagements:

ADDRESSES BY Mr. LOVEJOY

1913

October 6—Vocational Guidance Association, Columbia University, New York City.
" 8—Conference, Clearing House for Mental Defectives, Metropolitan Building, New York City.
" 12—Illinois State Conference of Charities and Correction, Rockford, Ill.
" 13—Rockford College, Rockford, Ill.
" 13—High School, Rockford, Ill.
" 13—Chicago School of Civics, Chicago, Ill.
" 14—Michigan State College, Ypsilanti, Mich.
" 14—Public Meeting, Ypsilanti, Mich.
" 15—Century Club, Detroit, Mich.
" 16—Toledo Federation of Charities, Toledo, O.
" 17—Consumers' League, Louisville, Ky.
" 20—Michigan State Normal School, Kalamazoo, Mich.
" 21—Michigan Child Labor Association, Grand Rapids, Mich.
" 21—National Vocational Guidance Association, Grand Rapids, Mich.
" 24—Parlor Meeting, Montclair, N. J.
" 28—Vocational Guidance Conference, High School of Commerce, New York City.
" 29—National Training School, Young Women's Christian Association, New York City.
" 30—Public Meeting, Montclair, N. J.
November 5—National Training School, Young Women's Christian Association, New York City.
" 6—Young Men's Christian Association of New York University, New York City.
" 11—Unity Church, Montclair, N. J.
" 12—First Congregational Church, Montclair, N. J.
" 14—Women's Club, Montclair, N. J.
" 19—Public School No. 112, Brooklyn, N. Y.
" 20—New York Federation for Child Study, New York City.
" 21—Public School No. 6, Queens County, N. Y.
" 24—St. Columba Hall, New York City.
" 25—Class on Social Legislation, Columbia University, New York City.
" 26—Women's Civic Study Club, Ossining, N. Y.
" 26—Horace Mann School, New York City.
" 30—Social Forum, Melrose, Mass.

1913

November 30—First Unitarian Church, Lowell, Mass.
December 1-2—Charity Organization Society, Montreal, Canada.
" 22—University Settlement, New York City.

1914

January 4—Young Men's Hebrew Association, Brooklyn, N. Y.
" 5—Calvary Neighborhood House, New York City.
" 14—Miss Bangs' and Miss Whiton's School for Girls, New York City.
" 16—Flushing High School, Flushing, L. I.
" 18—Men's Club, Henry Street Settlement, New York City.
" 18—Mt. Morris Baptist Church, New York City.
" 23—Woman's Suffrage Club, New Rochelle, N. Y.
February 5—Public School No. 46, New York City.
" 12—Union Settlement, New York City.
" 19—Woman's Relief Corps, Daughters of the American Revolution, New York City.
" 21—Pennsylvania Child Labor Association, Annual Meeting, Phila., Pa.
" 24-26—National Training School, Young Women's Christian Association, New York City.
" 26—Parlor Conference on Palmer-Owen Bill, Home of Mrs. Ira S. Wile, New York City.
" 27—Hearing on Eight-Hour Bill, Boston, Mass.
" 28—National Training School, Young Women's Christian Association, New York City.
March 7—Suffrage School, Brooklyn, N. Y.
" 9—Hearing on Palmer-Owen Bill, House Committee on Labor, Washington, D. C.
" 10—Social Workers Club, Jacksonville, Fla.
" 11—Board of Trade, Congregational Church, St. Petersburg, Fla.
" 15—Rayne Memorial Methodist Episcopal Church, New Orleans, La.
" 16—National Child Labor Committee, Annual Conference, New Orleans, La.
" 17—Jesuit College, New Orleans, La.
" 20—Citizens' Meeting, Mobile, Ala.
" 24—Civic League, Lexington, Ky.
" 27—Schiller Hall, Loyola University, Chicago, Ill.
" 28—Morningside College, Sioux City, Iowa.
" 28—Woman's Club, Sioux City, Iowa.
" 29—First Methodist Episcopal Church, Indianola, Iowa.
" 29—Simpson College, Indianola, Iowa.
" 31—Iowa State University, Iowa City, Iowa.
April 1—Social Workers' Breakfast, St. Paul, Minn.
" 1—Women's Club, Minneapolis, Minn.
" 2—School of Civics, Chicago, Ill.
" 3—University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
" 16—Parlor Conference on Palmer-Owen Bill, Home of Mrs. Bernard Naumberg, New York City.
" 18—Young Men's Christian Association Conference, Garden City, L. I.
" 18—Parlor Conference on Palmer-Owen Bill, Home of Mrs. Henry Eckstein, New York City.
" 19—Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
" 21—Parlor Conference on Palmer-Owen Bill, Home of Miss Grace Lichten, New York City.
" 21—Conference on Vocational Guidance, Cooper Union, New York City.
" 23—Parlor Conference on Palmer-Owen Bill, Home of Mrs. H. C. Freeman, Hillside, Riverview Manor, N. Y.
" 24—Centenary Collegiate Institute, Hackettstown, N. J.
" 25—Annual Meeting, Women Lawyers' Club, Hotel Manhattan, New York City.
" 26—Young People's Association, Central Congregational Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.
" 27—Department of Health and Nursing, Teachers' College, New York City.
" 28—School of Philanthropy, New York City.
May 1—Thirty-fourth Convention, New York City Federation of Women's Clubs, New York City.

1914

May 7—Fiftieth Anniversary, Bethel Settlement, Cincinnati, Ohio.
" 11—Negro Mass Meeting, Church's Pavilion, Memphis, Tenn.
" 13—National Conference of Charities and Correction, Memphis, Tenn.
June 1—Hearing, U. S. Industrial Relations Commission, New York City.
July 22—Ocean Grove Assembly, Ocean Grove, N. J.
September 12—Consumers' League, Newport, R. I.

ADDRESSES BY DR. McKELWAY

1913

October 12—Tabernacle Presbyterian Church, Indianapolis, Ind.
" 12—Seventh Christian Church, Indianapolis, Ind.
" 13—American Prison Association, Indianapolis, Ind.
" 24—College Women's Association, Atlanta, Ga.
" 24—Social Workers' Club, Atlanta, Ga.
" 30—Federation of Women's Clubs, Cuthbert, Ga.
November 11—Public Meeting, Montclair, N. J.
" 12—Congregational Church, Montclair, N. J.
" 12—State Normal School, Montclair, N. J.
" 21—State Normal School, Farmville, Va.
December 4—National Reform Association, Pittsburgh, Pa.
" 4—Annual Meeting, Federal Council of Churches, Baltimore, Md.
" 7—Edgar Gardner Murphy Memorial Service, New York City.
" 17—South Carolina Child Labor Committee, Columbia, S. C.

1914

January 18—Young Men's Christian Association, Norfolk, Va.
" 20—University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.
" 25—Second Presbyterian Church, Washington, D. C.
" 25—Alexandria Presbyterian Church, Alexandria, Va.
February 5—Committee of House, General Laws, Richmond, Va.
" 15—First Presbyterian Church, Gainesville, Fla.
" 15—Mass Meeting at Tabernacle, Gainesville, Fla.
March 7—Federation of Women's Clubs, Washington, D. C.
" 9—Hearing, Palmer-Owen Bill, House Committee on Labor, Washington, D. C.
" 15—Lafayette Presbyterian Church, New Orleans, La.
" 16—National Child Labor Committee, Annual Conference, New Orleans, La.
" 21—City Club, Baltimore, Md.
" 25—Miss Madeira's School, Washington, D. C.
April 14—Ridley Park Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, Pa.
May 11—Negro Mass Meeting, Memphis, Tenn.
" ——Southern Sociological Congress, Memphis, Tenn.
" ——National Conference of Charities and Correction, Memphis, Tenn.
" 22—Hearing, Palmer-Owen Bill, House Committee on Labor, Washington, D. C.
June 20—American Academy of Medicine, Atlantic City, N. J.
July ——(2) Sociological Conference, Sagamore Beach, Mass.
" ——University Summer School, Charlottesville, Va.
August ——(4) Summer School, Blue Ridge, N. C.

ADDRESSES BY DR. CLOPPER

1913

October 31—Public Hearing on Vocational Guidance, New York City.
November 12—First Methodist Episcopal Church, Montclair, N. J.
" 16—First Presbyterian Church, Montclair, N. J.
" 18—Conference of New York State Probation Officers, Buffalo, N. Y.
December 15—Amsterdam Democratic Club, New York City.
" 23—University Settlement, New York City.

1914
January 4—Young Men's Hebrew Association, Brooklyn, N. Y.
" 14—Labor Temple, New York City.
" 18—Ely School, Greenwich, Conn.
" 26—Young Men's Christian Association, New York City.
" 30—Hearing on Factory Inspection, Albany, N. Y.
February 27—Public Hearing on Eight-Hour Bill, Boston, Mass.
March 17-18—National Child Labor Committee, Annual Conference, New Orleans, La.
April 2—St. Simon's Episcopal Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.
" 9—Woman's Club, Ridgewood, N. J.
" 17—Parlor Meeting, Home of Mrs. Kelley, Providence, R. I.
" 17—Social Workers Club, Providence, R. I.
" 25—Friends' Meeting House, Brooklyn, N. Y.
" 28—State Conference of Charities and Correction, Bridgeport, Conn.
May 22—Bethel Settlement, Cincinnati, Ohio.

ADDRESSES BY MR. SWIFT

November 27—High School, McLeansville, N. C.
" 30—West Market Methodist Episcopal Church, South Greensboro, N. C.
December 28—Methodist Episcopal Church, Louisberg, N. C.
1914
January 21—Senate Committee, Columbia, S. C.
" 25—Young Men's Christian Association, Wilmington, N. C.
" 28—Senate Committee, Columbia, S. C.
February 15—Social Service Conference, Raleigh, N. C.
" 19—Social Service Department, Woman's Clubs, Raleigh, N. C.
March 9—Hearing, Palmer-Owen Bill, House Committee on Labor, Washington, D. C.
" 17-18—National Child Labor Committee, Annual Conference, New Orleans, La.
" 28—High School, Bessemere, N. C.
" 29—Methodist Episcopal Church South, Hickory, N. C.
April 3—School Commencement, Wadesboro, N. C.
" 17—School Commencement, Carthage, N. C.
" 23—High School Commencement, Ronda, N. C.
" 24—Betterment Association, North Wilkesboro, N. C.
" 27—High School, Summerfield, N. C.
May 7—High School, Liberty, N. C.
" 13—High School, Yadkinville, N. C.
" 20—Granite Cutters' Union, Mt. Airy, N. C.
" 24—Methodist Episcopal Church South, Summerfield, N. C.
June 1—University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
" 5—Oak Ridge Institute, Oak Ridge, N. C.
" 7—Methodist Episcopal Church South, Franklinville, N. C.
" 19—King's Daughters, Rockingham, N. C.
" 24—Sunday School Convention, Monticello, N. C.
" 24—Epworth League, Greensboro, N. C.

ADDRESSES BY MISS ESCHENBRENNER

1913
October 15—Woman's Club, New Rochelle, N. Y.
" 31—Woman's Home Missionary Society, First Presbyterian Church, Scranton, Pa.
November 12—Montclair High School, Montclair, N. J.
December 4—National Society of New England Women, Brooklyn Colony, Brooklyn, N. Y.
1914
February 16—Young Women's Christian Association, Trenton, N. J.
February 27—Parlor Conference, Home of Mrs. E. C. Mueller, New Rochelle, N. Y.

1914

March 18—National Child Labor Committee, Annual Conference, New Orleans, La.
" 19—Daughters of Isabella and St. Margaret, New Orleans, La.
" 27—Parlor Conference, Home of Miss Elizabeth Dimock, Elizabeth, N. J.
April 22—Outlook Club, South Orange, N. J.
May 4—Recreation Rooms, New York City.
July 7—Woman's Welfare League, St. Paul, Minn.
" 9—Woman's Welfare League, St. Paul, Minn.
" 18—Northwestern Minnesota Editorial Association, Kenora, Canada.
" 19—Congregational Church, Beaudette, Minn.
August 2—Congregational Church, St. Paul Park, Minn.
" 6—Waysatta Woman's Club, St. Paul, Minn.
" 14—Groveland Village Improvement Association, Lake Minnetonka, Minn.

ADDRESSES BY MR. BREMER

1913

November 5—College Club, Paterson, N. J.
" 12—First Baptist Church, Montclair, N. J.
December 12—Associated Charities, Lynchburg, Va.
" 15—Ministers' Conference, Roanoke, Va.
" 28—Sunday School, Presbyterian Church, Elizabeth, N. J.

1914

January 13—Park Methodist Episcopal Church, Weehawken, N. J.
" 25—Young Men's Christian Association, Newark, N. J.
March 17-18—National Child Labor Committee, Annual Conference, New Orleans, La.
" 22—Parlor Conference, Baltimore, Md.
" 23—Social Service Conference, Baltimore, Md.
April 21—Stationary Firemen's Union, New York City.
" 30—Kipp's Bay Neighborhood Association, New York City.
May 1—Village Improvement Association, Mamaroneck, N. Y.
" 24—Young Women's Club, Emory Memorial Methodist Episcopal Church, Jersey City, N. J.

ADDRESSES BY MR. HINE

1914

February ——Mt. Washington Presbyterian Church, New York City.
March 17-18—National Child Labor Committee, Annual Conference, New Orleans, La.
" 22—Social Workers, Baltimore, Md.
" 23—Training School, Baltimore, Md.
" 23—Social Service Club, Baltimore, Md.
" 24—Baltimore Educational Association, Baltimore, Md.
" 27—State Normal School, Farmville, Va.
April 22—Hatters' Union, Orange, N. J.
" 26—Bronx House, New York City.
May 4—Southern Sociological Congress, Birmingham, Ala.
" 13—National Conference of Charities and Correction, Memphis, Tenn.
" 17—Broadway Presbyterian Church, Louisville, Ky.
" 31—First Presbyterian Church, Oshkosh, Wis.
June 17—Women's City Club, Chicago, Ill.

ADDRESSES BY MR. JONES

1913

November 12—Grace Presbyterian Church, Montclair, N. J.
December 4—Social Workers' Club, Lexington, Ky.
" 18—Equal Franchise League, Paducah, Ky.

1913	
December	24—Lebanon High School, Lebanon, Ind.
"	30—Meeting on Labor Legislation, Louisville, Ky.
1914	
January	4—Baptist Church, Okolona, Miss.
February	5—Senate Committee, Frankfort, Ky.
March	18—National Child Labor Committee, Annual Conference, New Orleans, La.
"	17—Political Equality League, Little Rock, Ark.
April	6—Ministerial Alliance, Little Rock, Ark.
"	11—Musical Coterie Club, Fort Smith, Ark.
"	12—Central Methodist Episcopal Sunday School, Fort Smith, Ark.
"	12—Public Meeting, Young Women's Christian Association, Fort Smith, Ark.
"	23—Twentieth Century Club, Jonesboro, Ark.
"	28—Arkansas Child Welfare Association, Little Rock, Ark.
May	1—Arkansas State Federation of Women's Clubs, Helena, Ark.
"	6—Arkansas State Conference of Charities and Correction, Fort Smith, Ark.
June	23—Georgia Women's Suffrage Association, Atlanta, Ga.
"	24—Executive Committee, Georgia Federation of Women's Clubs, Atlanta, Ga.
"	28—Christian Endeavor Society, Second Presbyterian Church, Atlanta, Ga.
July	7—Labor Committee, House of Representatives, Atlanta, Ga.
August	21—Farmers' Union of Alabama, Birmingham, Ala.

ADDRESSES BY MR. VAUGHN

1913	
October	3—Labor Temple, New York City.
"	5—Emerson Club, New York City.
November	3—Central Presbyterian Church, New York City.
"	12—Watchung Avenue Congregational Church, Montclair, N. J.
"	14—Hillside Grammar School, Montclair, N. J.
"	16—Harlem Socialist Forum, New York City.
"	21—University Settlement, New York City.
"	22—St. Paul's School, Garden City, L. I.
December	3—University Settlement, New York City.
"	27—University Settlement, New York City.
"	28—Central Congregational Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.
"	31—Madison House Exhibit, New York City.

ADDRESSES BY MISS ROCHESTER

1913	
November	24—Woman's Club, Englewood, N. J.
1914	
January	8—Woman's Club, Ridgefield Park, N. J.
February	5—St. Paul's Church, Englewood, N. J.
March	16—National Child Labor Committee, Annual Conference, New Orleans, La.

In addition to the addresses given by members of the staff, Mrs. Ira S. Wile spoke for the Committee before the following assemblies in New York City: Scoville School, Scudder School, Polytechnic Preparatory School, Riverdale Country School, Fourth Unitarian Church, North Presbyterian Church, Washington Irving High School, New York Training School for Deaconesses, and the Heathcote School, Harrison, N. Y.

Mrs. Bernard Naumberg represented the Committee with addresses before the Choate School, Wallingford, Conn., and the following audiences in New York City: Ethical Culture Society, Alfred Corning Clark Settlement, Recreation Rooms, Warren Goddard House, Christadora House, Gospel Settlement, and College Settlement.

IMPORTANT CONFERENCES AT WHICH THIS COMMITTEE HAS BEEN OFFICIALLY REPRESENTED

1913

October 1—Kentucky Child Labor Association, Louisville, Ky.
" 8—Bureau of Welfare of School Children, New York City.
" 8—Industrial Board, Department of Labor, New York City.
" 9—Georgetown District Associated Charities, Washington, D. C.
" 10-16—American Prison Association, Indianapolis, Ind.
" 27—Survey Associates, New York City.
November 12—Bureau of Welfare of School Children, New York City.
" 12—South Carolina Child Labor Committee, Columbia, S. C.
" 14-17—American Association for Prevention of Infant Mortality, Washington, D. C.
" 18—Conservation Congress, Washingron, D. C.
" 18—New York State Probation Conference, Buffalo, N. Y.
" 18-19—New York State Conference of Charities, Buffalo, N. Y.
" 19—New York Child Labor Committee, Buffalo, N. Y.
" 20—Covington Labor Union, Covington, Ky.
" 26—Kentucky Child Labor Association, Louisville, Ky.
December 2—National Reform Association, Pittsburgh, Pa.
" 3—Bureau of Welfare of School Children, New York City.
" 3-5—Annual Meeting, Federal Council of Churches, Baltimore, Md.
" 8—Legislative Committee, State Federation of Labor, Louisville, Ky.
" 12—Kentucky Child Labor Association, Louisville, Ky.
" 17—South Carolina Child Labor Committee, Columbia, S. C.
" 18—New Jersey Child Labor Committee, Newark, N. J.
" 23—Commission to Investigate Conditions of Woman Labor, Indianapolis, Ind.
" 23—New Jersey Child Labor Committee, Newark, N. J.
" 30—Political Science Association, Washington, D. C.
" 31—Association for Labor Legislation, Washington, D. C.

1914

January 8—Consumers' League and Child Labor Committee, Providence, R. I.
" 8—Executive Committee, Children's Council, Washington, D. C.
" 10—Georgia Child Labor Committee, Atlanta, Ga.
" 12—New York Child Labor Committee, New York City.
" 14—South Carolina Child Labor Committee, Columbia, S. C.
" 15—Children's Council, Washington, D. C.
" 15—Single Tax Association, Washington, D. C.
" 26—Bureau of Welfare of School Children, New York City.
February 9—Executive Committee Meeting, National Conference of Charities and Correction, New York City.
" 12—North Carolina Child Labor Committee, Raleigh, N. C.
" 13-15—North Carolina Conference for Social Service, Raleigh, N. C.
" 20—Public Education Association, New York City.
" 27—Massachusetts Child Labor Committee, Boston, Mass.
" 28—Unemployment Conference, New York City.
March 4—National Consumers' League, New York City.
" 5—Executive Committee, North Carolina Conference for Social Service, Raleigh, N. C.

1914

March 6—Maryland Child Labor Committee, Baltimore, Md.
" 9—Hearing, Palmer-Owen Child Labor Bill, House Committee on Labor, Washington, D. C.
" 9—Louisiana Child Labor Committee, New Orleans, La.
" 15-18—National Child Labor Committee, Annual Conference, New Orleans, La.
" 21—Bureau of Vocational Guidance, Cincinnati, Ohio.
" 23—Alabama Child Labor Committee, Birmingham, Ala.
" 24—Consumers' League, Washington, D. C.
" 28—Committee of Forty, Washington, D. C.
April 8—Democratic Mass Meeting, Raleigh, N. C.
" 10—New York Child Labor Committee, New York City.
" 17—Bureau of Welfare of School Children, New York City.
" 28-29—Arkansas State Educational Conference, Little Rock, Ark.
May 5—Woman's Club, Fayetteville, N. C.
" 6-8—Southern Sociological Congress, Memphis, Tenn.
" 8-15—National Conference of Charities and Correction, Memphis, Tenn.
" 20—Granite Cutters' Union, Mt. Airy, N. C.
" 21—Ohio Child Labor Committee, Cincinnati, O.
" 22—Hearing, Palmer-Owen Child Labor Bill, House Committee on Labor, Washington, D. C.
" 25—Ohio Child Labor Committee, Cincinnati, O.
June 1—Hearing Industrial Relations' Commission, New York City.
" 4—North Carolina Democratic Convention, Raleigh, N. C.
" 5-19—Biennial, General Federation of Women's Clubs, Chicago, Ill.
" 20-21—American Academy of Medicine, Atlantic City, N. J.
" 30—Sociological Conference, Sagamore Beach, Mass.
July 4-11—National Education Association, St. Paul, Minn.
" 18—North Western Minn. Editorial Association, Kenora, Canada.
September 16—New York Child Labor Committee, New York City.

XIII. Travel

	Miles
Owen R. Lovejoy	15,675
A. J. McKelway	16,245
E. N. Clopper	9,959
L. W. Hine	14,207
W. H. Swift	11,616
H. H. Jones	12,241
H. M. Bremer	10,589
J. J. Eschenbrenner	6,278
H. P. Vaughn	280
Anna Rochester	4,020

The Secretary desires to express his appreciation of the patient attention given to the supervision of the work of the Committee by the members of the Board of Trustees, for the ready counsel and valuable suggestions received from members of the Advisory Board, and for the earnest and loyal cooperation shown by all members of the staff.

Respectfully submitted,

Owen R. Lovejoy,
General Secretary.

THE EXTENT OF CHILD LABOR OFFICIALLY MEASURED

E. N. CLOPPER, PH. D.
National Child Labor Committee's Secretary for the Northern States

In August, 1914, appeared the Occupations volume of the Thirteenth Census of the United States, telling how many children were at work in this country in April, 1910. Whether more detailed data will be made available later in a special Census bulletin, similar to Bulletin No. 69 published in 1907, remains to be seen, but meanwhile we have a carefully classified record of all occupations of children 10 to 13 years of age and 14 to 15 years of age, and of the numbers of children of these ages employed in the various states. For the first time the facts concerning children under 10 were gathered, but unfortunately they were not published in the volume under consideration; it is greatly to be hoped that the Census Bureau may prepare a special Bulletin on child labor and include this material, which would be a unique contribution to the study of the problem.

Of all the children 10 to 15 years of age in the United States more than one in six (1,990,225), were found at work. Almost half (895,976), were less than 14 years old. Concerning these children under 14, who exceed by more than 100,000 the corresponding number in the Census for 1900, it should be noted that the majority are employed in the various forms of agriculture, as laborers on farms and in dairies, gardens, greenhouses, nurseries and orchards and that only among these agricultural workers was an increase reported. The number of children under 14 in other occupations is a little less than half of that given in the Census for 1900. The figures showing the extent of child labor in the various industries for the two Censuses of 1900 and 1910 do not readily admit of exact comparison because the classifications of occupations differ; for instance, in the Census for 1900, fishermen and oystermen were included in the group called "Manufacturing and Mechanical Pursuits," while in the report for 1910 they have been put under "Agriculture, Forestry

and Animal Husbandry." Comparison between the figures for the same groups in the two reports are made here, therefore, with certain reservations.

The Bureau attributes the increase in children reported as agricultural workers to the way in which the enumerators were instructed rather than to any marked change in the actual number. Therefore it is gratifying to note that in spite of this greater care in recording occupations, the number of children under 14 in non-agricultural work was reduced from 186,358 to 95,839. In this decade the National Child Labor Committee and various state committees were organized and the elimination of approximately 100,000 young children from industry may be fairly reckoned as a direct result of their systematic efforts to enact and improve child labor laws. Thus, in 1900 there was not a single state in the Union with a 14-year age limit for any common industrial occupation except mining (with the single exception of Louisiana which had a 14-year limit for girls in factories). In 1910 thirty-one states had fixed this minimum for at least one other kind of work.

Public opinion against the employment of older children, 14 and 15 years of age, has been steadily growing, and even before 1910 several states had begun to forbid the employment of children under 16 in certain dangerous occupations, but not until later did any state, with the single exception of Montana, attempt to establish an age limit higher than 14 for all the common kinds of work other than agriculture and domestic service. Therefore we find a far smaller decrease in the number of older child workers, 461,806 children 14 and 15 years old being reported in non-agricultural occupations in 1910, as against 501,849 ten years earlier.

The Thirteenth Census has improved upon earlier ones in its presentation of material and yet there are certain limitations and defects which should be borne in mind when its figures are quoted. There is the primary question of accuracy on the part of the enumerators, for it is hardly conceivable that the Bureau could enlist 70,000 absolutely accurate persons to serve in this capacity.

A striking example of understatement is found in the returns of street-trading children. Only three newsboys 10 years of age and over (including adults as well as boys), are reported for Chattanooga, a city of 45,000 inhabitants. Boys 10 to 15 years old were free to sell newspapers in New York City in 1910, yet the Census found

there only 243 newsboys of these ages, while Toledo, with a population only one thirtieth of New York's is credited with 240. In Cincinnati, 1,951 boys 10 to 13 years old were licensed to sell newspapers during the period from June to December 1909, yet the Census of the following April shows only 167 newsboys 10 to 15 years of age in the city. The total number of newsboys under 16 years of age reported for the entire country is 20,450; in all probability there were more than this number in the fifty cities having 100,000 or more inhabitants, to say nothing of those in smaller cities and towns.

And are we to believe there were no bootblacks of any age in Bayonne although 88 were reported for Hoboken? For seven other cities with more than 25,000 inhabitants no bootblacks were reported. And can it be true there was only one such laborer in the city of Niagara Falls? If so he must have been sadly overworked.

It should be remembered that the Census was taken during a brief period in the month of April, 1910, and therefore the employment of boys and girls in seasonal occupations is absurdly misrepresented. Thus, only 49 children 10 to 13 years of age are reported as employed in all the fruit and vegetable canneries of the entire country, because very few such establishments are in operation in April, and this is all the more misleading in view of the specific authorization to employ such children granted to this industry by several states. In the canneries of one small town alone in New York State, investigators for the New York Child Labor Committee in the season of 1910 found at work a hundred children under 14 years of age, while the New York State Factory Investigating Commission found 952 children under 14 years of age in the canneries they visited in 1912.

Again, only eighteen children 10 to 15 years of age are returned as working in cranberry bogs, because the Census was taken long before the cranberry season began. On the bogs of a single company in New Jersey investigators for the National Child Labor Committee in 1911 found 492 children under 14 years of age, while in the autumn of 1910, on another bog in the same state, 347 children under 14 years, from Philadelphia, were at work four weeks after school had started.

The National Child Labor Committee submits that the correct figures for these industries with the addition of the child laborers under 10 years would carry the total so far above the official number

(1,990,225), that 2,000,000 may be regarded as a conservative estimate of the children under 16 at work in all occupations. It is impossible to determine at this time the extent of any possible decrease or increase in child labor since 1910, because the decennial census is the only agency which compiles authoritative occupational statistics for the country at large, and to learn of such changes we must wait for the official figures of 1920. In the meantime the census for 1910 furnishes the only comprehensive information available.

It is often objected that since so large a proportion (1,432,580), are at work in agriculture, the problem is not so serious as we would have the public believe. We reply that even if we were concerned with none but the 557,645 in non-agricultural work, we should be facing a situation demanding persistent effort. But as a matter of fact it is a fallacy to assume that the million and a half in agriculture are all doing instructive work under favorable conditions, enjoying regular attendance at school, and in no need of protection.

To take as a single example the berry and vegetable fields of Maryland, Delaware and New Jersey, which we have had under observation for several years, and to which every May, hundreds of city children go with their parents to supply the demand for labor to pick the crop, we quote from authentic reports of Philadelphia school principals relative to the effects upon children of what their employers are pleased to call "Summer outings in the fine open air of the country."

> "When they return they are mentally unfit in many cases even to remain in the grade in which they were left. It is as though some unseen hand had wiped their minds clean of all they had previously been taught. The teachers are in despair over their condition and I have had to demote them in several instances. The long sojourn in the country has also pernicious moral and physical effects. The children are weakened from work and poor food. They are inattentive, have forgotten how to obey, and must be taught again the very A B C's of self-control. They are dirty and neglected, they give evidence of loose moral influence during their absence, and in numberless cases their condition is pitiable."
>
> "The children who returned from the country after the berry picking and canning season were in a most deplorable condition, morally, physically and intellectually, due to improper food, poor housing and want of supervision. The eczema and pediculosis from which these children suffer are aggravated by insect bites and exposure to the sun and it takes a long time to effect a cure. Loss of memory is most pronounced and the schools find it necessary to demote children to next lower grade for general review before they can take up the work they were doing when they left for the country; so at the age of fourteen years we find these children in about the third and fourth grades to which they have progressed by incidental promotion."

Similar conditions are sure to arise whenever large numbers of families are transported from one section to another for the harvesting of a large crop in a short time. The dangers involved in the exploitation of children in such forms of agriculture are set forth in "People Who Go to Tomatoes."*

That many of the children who are returned as "laborers (home farm)" are also being overworked and deprived of education is unfortunately true. An example is found on the cotton plantations in Texas, which Lewis W. Hine has described at length in his article on "Children or Cotton."†

The Newport (R. I.) *News* recently made the following editorial comment on the work of children in agriculture:

> "It would be difficult perhaps to frame any law which would regulate this kind of child labor, but parents are responsible for it and are committing a grave error in thus forcing their boys and girls to do work on the farm which they do not like and for which there is no need, for it is creating an aversion for farm work which they would not feel if they were not compelled to do it against their will. Much work on the farm is light and not unpleasant, and if the young people were allowed to do this instead of what is more irksome and laborious many of them would undoubtedly like it so well that they would wish to devote themselves to farm work as a means of livelihood, and there would not be so many boys and girls leaving the country for the store and the office in the city.
>
> "Forced labor by children, anywhere and under any circumstances, especially if it be hard and irksome, is a great mistake. It inflicts burdens which leave their mark on the physical or moral nature and drive the young folks away from home when they grow old enough to leave. The farm should be a place of pleasant memory to the children brought up on it, and it will be in most cases if they are not compelled to do work which they do not need to do and which they do not like."

Among the surprising features of the volume is the report that 355 little boys 10 to 13 years of age were at work as laborers on steam railroads; and more than two thousand from 14 to 15 years old were similarly employed. It seems that several youngsters were intrusted with considerable responsibility in connection with the postal service, for there were at the time 8 postmasters only 14 or 15 years old, nineteen mail-carriers under 14, and three railway mail clerks under 16. Twenty-one boys and girls of the ripe age of 10 to 13 years are reported as school teachers. The Federal Government is charged with

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* Pamphlet No. 215, by H. M. Bremer, published by the National Child Labor Committee, price 5 cents per copy, postpaid.

† Published in *The Survey*, Feb. 7, 1914, and reprinted as a pamphlet for free distribution by the National Child Labor Committee.

having had nineteen boys, 10 to 13 years of age, in its employ as messengers, some of whom were probably serving as pages in the United States Senate, inasmuch as the child labor law of the District of Columbia permits the upper House of Congress to employ children of any age, although the minimum limit fixed for other establishments is 14 years.

We venture to hope that unlike the present Census the occupation figures for 1920 may be published before they have entered upon the stage of historic interest.

We print below a table compiled from the Census figures showing the distribution of children among the several groups of industries.

Industry	Children Reported		
	10—13	14—15	Total
Salt, Oil and Gas Wells	28	205	233
Public Service (not elsewhere classified)	84	707	791
Quarries	224	1,120	1,344
Liquor and Beverage Industries	115	1,327	1,442
Chemical and Allied Industries	187	3,132	3,319
Paper and Pulp Industries	154	4,652	4,806
Professional Service	805	5,628	6,433
Metal Industries (ex. Iron and Steel)	252	6,971	7,223
Clay, Glass and Stone Industries	1,234	9,161	10,395
Cigar and Tobacco Factories	1,843	8,723	10,566
Food and Kindred Industries	972	10,245	11,217
Leather Industries	406	11,592	11,998
Printing and Bookbinding	622	11,482	12,104
Mines	2,241	14,877	17,118
Iron and Steel Industries	951	19,518	20,469
Lumber and Furniture Industries	4,367	17,418	21,785
Clothing Industries	1,113	22,158	23,271
Transportation	3,041	21,777	24,818
Miscellaneous Industries	2,064	28,093	30,157
Building and Hand Trades	5,008	27,657	32,665
Textile Industries	14,642	65,888	80,530
Trade	22,441	88,965	111,406
Domestic and Personal Service	33,045	80,510	113,555
Agriculture, Forestry and Animal Husbandry	800,137	632,443	1,432,580
Totals	895,976	1,094,249	1,990,225

The connection between child labor and illiteracy is strikingly shown in the following table which has been compiled from the 1910 Census figures:

THE DEADLY PARALLEL

State	Per cent of children 10–13 at work	Per cent of total population 10 and over illiterate
Mississippi	47.8	22.4
Alabama	46.3	22.9
South Carolina	45.1	25.7
North Carolina	39.5	18.5
Arkansas	38.4	12.6
Georgia	36.9	20.7
Texas	27.9	9.9
Tennessee	22.9	13.6
Florida	20.9	13.8
Louisiana	19.3	29.0
Oklahoma	16.4	5.6
Kentucky	15.4	12.1
Virginia	15.3	15.2
New Mexico	9.6	20.2
West Virginia	9.5	8.3
Delaware	8.4	8.1
Maryland	7.1	7.2
Missouri	7.1	4.3
South Dakota	6.9	2.9
North Dakota	5.9	3.1
Kansas	5.1	2.2
Indiana	4.4	3.1
Nebraska	4.3	1.9
Arizona	4.2	20.9
Idaho	3.9	2.2
Iowa	3.7	1.7
Wyoming	3.5	3.3
Utah	3.5	2.5
Colorado	3.3	3.7
Minnesota	3.3	3.0
Pennsylvania	2.6	5.9
Ohio	2.6	3.2
Illinois	2.5	3.7
Montana	2.2	4.8
Wisconsin	2.2	3.2
Vermont	2.1	3.7
Oregon	2.1	1.9
Nevada	2.0	6.7
Michigan	1.8	3.3
Maine	1.7	4.1
Washington	1.7	2.0
California	1.4	3.7
District of Columbia	1.3	4.9
New Jersey	1.2	5.6
New Hampshire	1.1	4.6
Rhode Island	.9	7.7
Connecticut	.9	6.0
New York	.8	5.5
Massachusetts	.8	5.2

CHILD LABOR AND DELINQUENCY*

FRED S. HALL

"Working children, because they are working rather than school children, are far more likely to go wrong, than those who can enjoy a childhood unburdened by adult responsibility." This is one of the things demonstrated by the Federal Report on Juvenile Delinquency and Employment. The report answers the questions:

1. Which are arrested oftener, working children or those who do not work?
2. Do working children commit the more serious offenses?
3. Are working children "repeaters" more often than those who do not work?

Contrary to the popular idea that work keeps children out of mischief, this report shows that among working children, both boys and girls, there is a greater tendency than among non-workers, "to go wrong and to keep on going wrong after the start has once been made."

In order to show that it is the working life rather than the home conditions that cause the greater delinquency of working children, the report gives comparative tables as to the home conditions of both working and nonworking delinquents. It further states the relation of particular occupations to delinquency. In this connection it is interesting, though not surprising to note that, in general, the occupations producing the greater number of delinquents are those in which the child works largely without supervision. That is, newsboys, errand-boys, delivery-boys—the children who are doing those things we have tacitly classified as children's work—are the ones who are most often going wrong. The other occupations producing

* Based on Vol. VIII, Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the U. S., 61st Congress, Senate Doc. 645.

a large number of delinquents are those offering peculiar temptations in themselves.

Being the work of Government agents, the report is authoritative. It is based on the records of 3,243 children who were arrested during the year 1907-8 in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, Pittsburg, Indianapolis, and Newark, N. J.; and on the additional records of 1,596 children who were confined during that year in twelve reformatories near those cities. To supplement the records, probation officers were interviewed, and, when necessary, home investigations were made. The report covers 177 pages and is exceedingly painstaking in an effort to avoid reaching any conclusions not justified by the figures. Only the most meagre quotations can be made here.

Which Are Arrested Oftener—Working Children or Those Who Do Not Work?

"Considering the individual offenders rather than the offenses, the question that first arises is how the working delinquents compare in point of numbers with the nonworking. . . . Grouping the children, we have the classification shown in the table which follows*." (35)†

Delinquent children employed previous to arrest.....	2,767
Delinquent children not employed previous to arrest...	2,072
Total.....	4,839

"At first sight this table does not seem to give much support to the theory that working children are in more danger of going wrong than nonworking. It is true there is an excess of workers, but it is not sufficiently large to be striking." (36)

The report, however, shows that we need to know how many working children there were in the cities studied, so as to see what proportion was arrested. For the same reason, we need to know how many nonworking children there were. These figures were not known for the year of the study, 1907–1908, and the report was obliged, therefore, to use the census figures of 1900 for the purpose of comparison.

* Includes children in reformatories and children brought into juvenile court.

† Figures in parenthesis refer to the pages of the Federal Report.

"The comparison is not offered as furnishing an accurate measure of fact. It has a certain value as tending to show the relative proportion of working and nonworking children who come into conflict with the law, and it makes no claim to give anything beyond an indication." (37)

Locality	Working Children 10 to 15 Years			Nonworking Children 10 to 14 Years		
	Total Number	Delinquent		*Total Number	Delinquent	
		Number	Per Cent of Total		Number	Per Cent of Total
BOYS						
Indianapolis	1,123	75	6.67	6,324	199	3.15
Baltimore	5,909	170	2.87	19,093	126	.66
Boston	2,386	375	15.71	19,640	286	1.46
Newark	3,042	114	3.74	9,030	81	.89
Philadelphia	15,170	252	1.66	43,215	237	.55
Pittsburg	3,718	244	6.56	12,222	188	1.54
GIRLS						
Indianapolis	566	8	1.41	6,629	21	.31
Baltimore	4,338	22	.51	19,539	3	.02
Boston	1,540	21	1.36	19,391	16	.08
Newark	2,079	6	.28	9,302	4	.04
Philadelphia	11,285	38	.34	43,791	18	.04
Pittsburg	1,413	35	2.47	12,515	18	.14

*The census figure used is the number "at school." The assumption is that *almost* all of those "at school" are not working.

"It will be seen at once that the ratio of working delinquents is very much larger than the nonworking." (37)

"Owing to the unsatisfactory nature of the census figures used here, and owing, also, to the different degrees of strictness with which laws are enforced against juveniles, this table can not be employed for any comparison between the different cities. It can only be used to show roughly the proportion furnished by the workers and nonworkers to the group of juvenile delinquents. So used it seems to indicate pretty conclusively

that *putting children to work prematurely is not an effective method of training them for good citizenship.*" (38)

Do Working Children Commit the More Serious Offenses?

"There are several other factors which may well enter into a consideration of the relative delinquency of the two classes. The character of the offense has an important bearing. . . . Taking all the offenses for which the delinquents under consideration have ever been brought into court and grouping them according to the industrial status of the children committing them, the following table is secured." (38)

Offense	By Working Children	By Non-working Children
Arson	17	9
Assault and battery	186	111
Assault and battery and larceny	10	7
Begging	11	3
Burglary	390	329
Craps and gambling	140	30
Drunkenness	31	8
Drunkenness and immoral conduct	5	1
Forgery	13	2
Immoral conduct	221	95
Incorrigibility	390	230
Incorrigibility and truancy	42	62
Larceny	1,863	1,089
Larceny and drunkenness	7	6
Larceny and incorrigibility	59	71
Larceny and malicious mischief	6	7
Larceny and runaway	50	22
Larceny and trespassing on railroad	70	81
Larceny and immoral conduct	13	2
Malicious mischief	218	217
Out nights	77	12
Out nights and larceny	32	19
Out nights and incorrigibility	130	87
Receiving stolen goods	21	14
Suspicious person	34	12
Trespassing on railroad	49	42
Truancy	308	270
Vagrancy and runaway	384	198
Disorderly conduct and miscellaneous	694	281
Total	5,471	3,326
Per Cent	62.2	37.8

"The most immediately striking feature here is *the large proportion of offenses committed by the working children.* . . . Roughly speaking the nonworkers are responsible for a little over one-third, the workers for something under two-thirds of the offenses. The ages at which these offenses were committed range from 6 to 16 years. When it is remembered that a majority—and presumably a large majority—of all the children between these ages are not working, this preponderance of offenses among the workers assumes impressive proportions. Looking at the table more closely it appears that the *excess of working delinquents is not confined to any one class of offenses. With a few exceptions they lead in all forms of wrong doing.*" (39) "In the case of forgery, the excess of workers is abnormally large. A study of the individual offender explains this by showing that in the majority of cases the youthful forger has been engaged in some work which has familiarized him with the uses of commercial paper and the opportunities for forgery." (40)

Are Working Children "Repeaters" More Than Those Who Do Not Work?

"It is generally considered that repetition of offenses shows a graver moral condition than the commission of one isolated breach of the law, even though the latter be of a serious character. Says one expert on the subject:

" 'The criminal character of an offender is not always to be estimated by the nature of the offense. A very serious offense is sometimes committed by a juvenile whose character is by no means deeply penetrated by criminal instincts and impulses, whereas, on the other hand, we often witness a strongly marked criminal disposition in juveniles convicted of comparatively trivial offenses. The nature of an offense for which a juvenile is convicted must not in most cases be considered by itself as a satisfactory index of character and disposition. The character of the offender is manifested much more accurately by the habit of offending than by the nature of the offense.' "* (41)

* Morrison, *Juvenile Offenders*, p. 51.

	Working Children		Nonworking Children	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
First offenders	1,316	47.6	1,319	63.6
Recidivists (Repeaters)	1,451	52.4	753	36.4
Total	2,767	100.0	2,072	100.0

"It will be seen that the *recidivists (repeaters) are far more numerous among the workers than among the nonworkers.* . . . When a child has been in court from six to ten times, the most hopeful must admit that the outlook for its becoming anything but an habitual offender is not bright." (41)

"The proportion of recidivism is also large among those who are working while attending school, and the numbers here are very much larger than one would wish to see.* Some part of the recidivism here is undoubtedly due to the kind of occupations which a child can carry on while attending school. Selling newspapers and blacking shoes, acting as errand or delivery boy, peddling, and working about amusement resorts account for over two-thirds of these boys (478 of the 664 are in one or another of these pursuits). These are all occupations in which the chances of going wrong are numerous, involving as they usually do night work, irregular hours, dubious or actively harmful associations and frequent temptations to dishonesty. In addition, something may perhaps be attributed to the overstrain due to the attempt to combine school and work. When a child of 13, a bootblack, is 'often on the street to 12 P. M.,' or when a boy one year older works six hours daily outside of school time, 'often at night,' as a telegraph messenger, it is evident that his school work is not the only thing which is likely to suffer from the excessive strain upon the immature strength, and from the character of his occupation. . . . On the whole, it may be said of this table, that it shows more strongly than the general table of offenders *the greater tendency of working*

*See pages 42 and 43 of the report for the large detailed table which shows this.

children, both boys and girls, to go wrong and to keep on going wrong after the start has once been made." (44–45)

Some Objections Anticipated.

In a series of special tables the report examines the possible objection that the apparent undue waywardness of working children just shown may not really be because they work, but merely because they live in the midst of worse surroundings than children who do not work, or perhaps because in more cases they have lost their fathers or mothers, or possibly because more often they are the children of foreign parents whose ignorance of things American makes it hard for them to control their children. What are the facts? Which group of the delinquent children recorded are the worse off in these three particulars? In a series of tables the report shows that in one particular only —the loss of parents—are the working delinquent children the worse off. In other matters they are either practically the same or better off than the delinquent children who had *not* been working. Merely the conclusions of the report are given in the following quotations:

(1) "It has been found that in regard to *parental relations* the group of working delinquents shows distinctly less favorable conditions than prevail among the nonworking." (62)

(2) "In regard to *nativity of parent* the situation is dubious." (62)

(3) "The *character of the home* is a very evident factor in a child's tendency toward delinquency, but distinctly a difficult one to tabulate." (57) "The element of personal judgment enters into any decision. . . . Where there was any doubt the decision was reached after consultation with the probation officers. . . . The decisions were carefully considered and it is believed that they are fair, but this is not a matter which can be settled with mathematical precision. . . . The homes concerning which information could be gained were classified in three groups—bad, fair and good. A home was not considered bad, no matter how poor, unless there was some distinctly bad influence at work upon the child. . . . A home is classed as fair if on the whole its moral impulse was toward the good. They were frequently homes of poverty,

sometimes even of destitution, and the parents might not represent the highest moral type, but in the main they would be honest, law-abiding people, anxious that their children should have whatever chance they could give them." (58) "A home was classed as good when all its influences appeared to be on the right side. The parents might be poor, but they were thrifty, intelligent, and industrious. In many cases they were fairly well to do. . . . Grouping the homes according to this classification, the table, immediately following, is obtained." (59)

DELINQUENT BOYS

Home Conditions	Working		Nonworking	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Institution home	14	0.6	26	1.5
No home	55	2.5	24	1.4
Bad home	464	***20.7***	551	***31.7***
Fair home	812	36.3	535	36.4
Good home	894	39.9	505	29.0
Total reported	2,239	100.0	1,741	100.0

DELINQUENT GIRLS

Home Conditions	Working		Nonworking	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Institution home	10	2.9	4	2.0
No home	15	4.4	2	1.0
Bad home	129	***37.8***	99	***48.8***
Fair home	80	23.5	53	26.1
Good home	107	31.4	45	22.1
Total reported	341	100.0	203	100.0

"As between workers and nonworkers we find the home conditions favor the workers. Among the boys only one-fifth of the workers, as opposed to nearly one-third of the nonworkers

come from distinctly bad homes. . . . Among the girls the proportions vary, but the contrast is even greater. Evidently, the excess of working delinquents can not be explained by a reference to home conditions. *The working child more frequently than the nonworking child goes wrong even where home surroundings are favorable.*" (59)

"*It has been seen that working children furnish far more than their proportionate share to the group of juvenile delinquents, that this excess is found wherever they are studied, that it occurs in every age group, that it is not limited to any one offense, and that it can not be adequately accounted for by parental condition, race, or character of home and home training.* The conclusion seems inevitable that the fact of being at work constitutes an important element in the problem and that working children, because they are working rather than school children, are far more likely to go wrong, than those who can enjoy a childhood unburdened by adult responsibilities." (65)

Occupations Compared

"Obviously the first step in forming any idea of the relative dangers of different occupations should be to compare the number engaged in each with the number of delinquents it furnishes; but the census data for the children employed in each industry are completely out of date, and there are no other." (66)

"Considering only those who were working at the time of the last offense, the following table, . . . gives the occupations from which the greater number of offenders came." (69)

Industry or Occupation	Delinquent Boys
Newsboys	320
Errand boys	261
Drivers and helpers, wagon	107
Stores and markets	62
Messengers, telegraph	38
Iron and steel	27
Textiles, hosiery and knit goods	27
Bootblacks	26
Peddlers	25
Building trades	24
Theater	23
Office boys	21
Glass	19

Industry or Occupation	Delinquent Girls
Domestic service:	
Servants in private houses	65
In hotel, restaurant or boarding house	11
Home workers	33
Total	109
Textiles, hosiery and knit goods	25
Stores and markets	11
Clothing makers	10
Candy and confectionery	9
Laundry	4

"This classification shows that the largest number of delinquent boys were found in those occupations or industries in which the nature of the employment does not permit of supervision. Four of the first five occupations belong largely to this class and the conditions in the other offer temptations peculiar to itself. (69)

"The bootblacks, the drivers and wagon helpers, the errand and messenger boys, the newsboys, and peddlers, all work under conditions which make any effective oversight impossible, and which bring them into continual temptations to dishonesty and to other offenses." (71)

"*Domestic workers* appear more generally throughout the list of offenses (committed by girls) than those in any other pursuit. . . . The temptation which domestic service forces upon the girl every hour in the day is to commit larceny; the offense against which it offers less protection than almost any other occupation, while at the same time its conditions conspire to lead the girl toward its commission, is immoral conduct; and these two together form considerably over half of all the offenses committed by this group of workers. . . . Everyone recognizes the opportunities which domestic service offers for theft, but the tradition that it is especially free from dangers to the worker's morals, in the limited sense of the word, is so generally established that a little consideration may be given to the point. When one speaks of moral danger to a domestic

worker, the listener is apt to think that advances from the men of the employers' household are meant. This danger exists certainly. Nine of the twenty-one servants in private families who went astray had for the partners of their offense either some member of the employer's family or some man or boy with whom their work brought them into contact. But the facts of common experience suggest that this proportion is unduly large, and that the danger comes more from the general conditions of the work than from this immediate source. These general conditions are the loneliness of the life, the lack of opportunities for making friends and securing recreation and amusement in safe surroundings, the monotonous and uninteresting nature of the work done as these untrained girls do it, the lack of external stimulus to pride and self-respect, and the absolutely unguarded state of the girl except when directly under the eye of her mistress." (76) "43.3 per cent of the whole group of working delinquents come from its (domestic service) ranks. In 1900 the girls from 10 to 15 years old classed as servants and waitresses were 24.3 per cent of all girls of those ages gainfully employed. Excluding from our offenders all over 15, so as to make the age period agree, it is seen that servants furnish 44.9 per cent of the working delinquents, a percentage nearly twice as great as their proportionate share." (94).

The Report then tests the occupations which seem to be the most demoralizing in the same manner as it tested delinquents as a whole. That is to say, it asks in the case of each occupation whether the home conditions, parentage, etc., were worse than in the case of children with other occupations, so as to see if these home conditions, etc., may not be more responsible for the child's waywardness than the occupation itself.

"The conditions prevailing among working delinquents as a whole have been taken as a standard (the lowest line of the following table) and each occupation may be ranked above or below this, according to whether it shows for the specified detail a more or less favorable state of affairs than that found among the general body of working delinquents." (88)

Occupation	Per cent of Delinquent Boys		
	Having both parents living	Having fair or good homes	Native born of native-born parents
Delivery and errand boys	52.5	78.9	40.8
Newsboys and bootblacks	62.9	75.8	32.5
Office boys	54.3	83.7	39.1
Street vendors	63.6	65.0	37.0
Telegraph messengers	58.8	78.9	42.3
In amusement resorts	41.1	66.0	42.8
Total boy delinquents working	54.6	76.2	41.2

"Taking the different pursuits up in turn, it will be seen that among the *office boys* the conditions which may be called extrinsic to the work itself are on the whole good. . . . The proportion having both parents living barely falls below the average for working delinquents, the proportion having fair or good homes is very large, and the percentage having native-born parents is but little below the average.

"One could naturally expect children of this grade to keep out of difficulties with the law, and their propensity to do otherwise creates a presumption against the occupation itself. This presumption is strengthened by an examination of their leading offenses, which show a close connection with the conditions inherent in the work. Ranked according to their numerical importance, these offenses are:

Last Offense	Office Boy Delinquents
Larceny	27
Incorrigibility	7
Runaway or vagrancy	6
All other	6
Total	46

"The predominance of larceny (58 per cent) becomes more striking by comparison with the other trades; even the street vendors show a smaller percentage, and the newsboys fall far below, while a larger percentage is found only among the errand and delivery boys. An explanation easily suggests itself. The office boy is very apt to be put in charge of the stamp drawer or of the petty cash or sent out to buy stamps, any one of which duties offers chances for pilfering easily and with comparatively small danger." (89)

"Turning to the *messengers*, it is seen that they are in every respect above the average of favorable conditions. Moreover, it is well known that boys taking up this work must be bright and quick; there is no room in it for the dull and mentally weak. Plainly, then, in this case the occupation, not the kind of children who enter it, must be held responsible for its position among the pursuits from which delinquents come.

"The characteristic evils of the messenger's work are not so clearly reflected among these delinquents, as is the case with the office boys. The chief charges brought against it are that the irregular work and night employment tend to break down health, that the opportunities for overcharging and for appropriating packages or parts of their contents lead to dishonesty, and that the places to which the boy is sent familiarize him with all forms of vice and tend to lead him into immorality. The leading offenses among these boys are:

Last Offense	Messenger Delinquents
Larceny	39
Incorrigibility	15
Disorderly conduct	5
All other	14
Total	73

"The complaint against the occupation on the score of health could not find either confirmation or disproof here, but larceny appears in a slightly smaller proportion than for the group of

working delinquents as a whole, where it is 54.5 per cent while immorality, far from occupying a leading position, accounts for only 1.4 per cent of the delinquent messengers. Of course, a boy might indulge freely in what may be called ordinary immorality without its resulting in bringing him into court, and equally, of course, a boy might receive grave moral harm which might not appear in his conduct until long after he had left the employment. The unfortunate effects of the inherent conditions of the work are, however, manifest. Its irregularity, the lack of any supervision during a considerable part of the time, the associations of the street and of the places to which messengers are sent, and the frequency of night work, with all its demoralizing features, afford an explanation of the impatience of restraint, the reckless yielding to impulse shown in the large percentage of incorrigibility and disorderly conduct. A glance at the main table shows that the two offenses next in order are assault and battery and malicious mischief, both of which indicate the same traits. On the whole, there seems abundant reason for considering that the messenger service deserves its bad name." (91)

"The level of favorable conditions of *errand and delivery boys* keeps so near to the average that it seems necessary to attribute the number of delinquents it furnishes more to the condition of the work than to the kind of children taking it up. The leading offenses are shown in the following table:

Last Offense	Errand Boy Delinquents
Larceny	296
Incorrigibility	65
Assault and battery	24
Runaway and vagrancy	24
Disorderly conduct	22
Craps and gambling	14
All other	46
Total	491

"It will be seen that the proportion of larceny is abnormally large, being not only considerably above the average, but greater than in any other pursuit. The nature of the work involves trusting the boys with money and parcels and sending them in and out of stores, offices, and private houses, where opportunities abound for picking up unconsidered trifles. The comparatively small proportion guilty of the next leading offense, to which this work offers no special temptation above the others in this group, is another indication of the close connection between the character of the occupation and the wrongdoing." (91-92)

"The occupational influences of ***newsboys and bootblacks***, street venders and children employed in amusement resorts are notoriously bad, but a partial explanation of the number of delinquents they furnish is unquestionably in the kind of children who enter them. It is a case of action and reaction. These occupations are easily taken up by immature children, with little or no education and no preliminary training. Such children are least likely to resist evil influences, most likely to yield to all that is bad in their environment. Then the presence of such children in the occupation tends to keep out a better class and to give it a still worse name. Careful parents will hesitate to let their children take up an employment in which they must have such associates, and it becomes more and more a resort for those whose parents through ignorance or indifference take no thought of the surroundings under which the work is carried on, or those who, being already semivagrants, are attracted by the irregularity of the work—the condition which someone has described as 'irregular and shiftless industry'—and by the excitement of the street life." (92)

CHILDREN WHO WEAVE SILK*

ELEANOR H. ADLER

The colliery towns of Pennsylvania are "the land of promise for every throwster in the silk trade." So wrote a manufacturer in a silk trade report.† Great armies of men at work in the anthracite mines; wages often not covering family expenses; hundreds of women and children, therefore, available for the silk mills. A land of promise possibly for the employers; for the miner's children, one of premature drudgery and illegal employment.

"An ideal location for a factory," says another employer, ingenuously, in *Silk*,‡ would be one in which labor is abundant, intelligent, skilled and cheap; where there were no labor unions or strikes; where the laws of the state made no restrictions as to hours of work or age of workers; where the people were accustomed to mill life; and where there were no other textile mills in the vicinity to share in the labor and bid up its price." This may appear a somewhat one-sided ideal. But Paterson silk manufacturers found some of these conditions in the mining towns of Pennsylvania when they put up branch establishments there, and filled the factories with the plentiful labor of women and children.

The silk industry ranks third in the number of children it employs. When a youngster goes to the mills his first job is apt to be at one of the minor unskilled processes—as lacer, reeler, bobbin carrier, etc. In fact, children practically run these processes. But unfortunately, in the Pennsylvania mills, the employment of children does not stop here. It is carried up to those departments where the work is semi-skilled or even

* Based on Vol. IV, Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the U. S., 61st Congress, Senate Doc., 645.

† Report of Silk Association, 1902, pp. 45-46.

‡ November, 1907.

highly skilled, at whose hard processes children have no shadow of a right to be, and where the New Jersey and other factories employ chiefly grown men and women.

In 1907, the Federal Government investigated 36 mills in Lackawanna, Luzerne and Lehigh counties, Pennsylvania. 1,485 children were found employed. What did these small boys and girls do—a thousand and a half of them, in only 36 mills—to make their labor so much in demand?

The Work in the Silk Mills

Children work as reelers, lacers, and bobbin carriers. But in Pennsylvania children work, too, as soft-silk winders. A winder puts the skeins on the swifts, watches for broken threads, ties their ends, and replaces full bobbins with empty ones. He tends from 50 to 90 swifts, sometimes two rows of swifts on each frame. That means constant employment, for the spindles are driven at top speed and the threads have to be watched for continual breaks. In the Pennsylvania mills 38 of the soft-silk winders—18.7 per cent—were children.

Children, too, work as spinners. A spinner tends 2 to 6 sides of a spinning frame and from 400 to 1,000 spindles—watches for breaks, ties the threads and takes care of the bobbins. The work involves constant standing and movement. All the sides to be tended can not be seen from any one place, and as there is apt to be a breakage at any moment in one of the 500 or more threads, the spinner must be constantly on the move—must frequently bend over, also, in order to place the bobbins on the lower row of spindles. Spindles run sometimes as high as 35,000 revolutions per minute. If released from their frames by accident, they would descend with the speed of projectiles driven from high power guns. In the general opinion of throwsters, silk spinning is man's work, far too hard and unhealthful to be carried on by women and children. Yet in the Pennsylvania mills there were 315 spinners—36.5 per cent of the total —under 16.

Children work at hard-silk winding. This is similar to soft-silk winding, except that the thread is harsher, breaks oftener and is apt to make the fingers sore. 24.6 per cent of

hard-silk winders were children—7 in 10 were paid under $3.00 a week. The report adds, "They tend as many swifts as adults and do quite as much work. The low scale of wages puts a premium on their employment."

Children are used at quilling and doubling, processes much the same as that of winding. They have to work very fast on the improved machines now in use, though there is some chance to rest in between. 52 of the quillers in the mills—29.6 per cent —and 20.7 per cent of the doublers were children.

The foregoing processes are called semi-skilled, but there is very highly skilled work too in the silk mill. Children are rarely employed in such departments except in Pennsylvania —in Pennsylvania they are rarely absent. Young girls do warping on the Swiss mills (largely in use in Pennsylvania to avoid men employees and unions). Young girls, too, are twisters-in, although the process brings the body into a cramped position, and they are totally unfitted for it. New Jersey uses men employees largely for broad-silk weaving, which requires great skill and quickness, and constant watchfulness; and they never tend more than 2 looms. The Pennsylvania mills use women and a considerable number of children, who tend 3 looms, sometimes the extraordinary number of 4.*

Dangers of the Work

But if the work appears improper for children, the conditions under which it is carried on increase the strain. Often danger of fire is imminent—children are hard at work on third and fourth stories of frame structures that have no fire escape or hose. Overcrowding, too, may make the machinery dangerous—hair and skirts may be caught in the swiftly moving spindles. The mills are deafeningly noisy, poorly ventilated, with few lunch or rest-rooms,† and often no seats. At lunch time the children have sometimes to lean against window-sills or machinery. The few dressing-rooms are dark and small, and therefore not used. The girls change their skirts behind the looms! The

*Statistics are based on conditions in 1907-1908.

†Two mills out of 36 had lunch rooms; one had a rest room.

law that requires seats for women and children is a practical nullity. "Seats are provided for those who must sit at their work. For those who must stand they are not provided, even for those brief intervals when the looms are working threads without breaking."

Thus when a child goes to work in a silk mill, it means long hours of standing, day after day, in danger of fire, contagion, and crippling, at work that is an incessant strain. Has any child a right to be in such mills? Is even 14 years a proper age limit? Or has the time come, perhaps, for the State to step in again, raise the working age permitted in factories to 16 instead of 14, and say definitely that no girl or boy under 16 be put at work so straining?

But if children ought to be 16 before working in factories; if the Pennsylvania state law says that they must be at least 14; what are the actual ages of the children in the 36 factories investigated? The report states that there were 1,485 at work. Of these 280 were under 14.

Very Young Children in the Mills

Of the 280 children there were 7 times as many girls as boys. A child under 14 is a very little child indeed to be at work in a factory. But 2 little girls were 10 years old. One boy and 6 girls were 11. Fourteen boys and thirty-five girls were 12, and twenty-nine boys and a hundred and ninety-three girls were 13. In the affidavits filed at the factories, all but 2 of these children were sworn to be over 14, and some were entered as 17 and 18.

In many of these 36 mills, the children under 14 constituted a large part of the child labor force. Where 37 children were employed, 19, or 51.4 per cent, were under 14; where 18 were employed, 9, or 50 per cent, proved under legal age. In many cases where there was no definite proof, the children must have been as young. In other cases, too, where the children were actually 14 at the time of the investigation, they had been at work a year or two previously in the mill. It seems evident, then, that children under 14 have been employed in large numbers in the Pennsylvania mills.

Why a Ten-Year-Old Child Could Be At Work

To get employment, under the Pennsylvania law, the parent or guardian of the child had to make an affidavit that the child was over 14. The child was sometimes required, too, to read and write simple English, to have had a certain amount of schooling, and to appear to be physically strong enough for work. The affidavit was supposed to be corroborated by record, or a substitute record—a teacher's statement that the child had the required education. But court rulings interpreted the requirements concerning certificates variously from month to month, and at times the age, date, and place of birth were the chief points in question. If the child was sworn to be over 14, a teacher, superintendent or factory inspector could issue an employment certificate, such certificates to be kept on file in the factory where the child was at work.

The law shows what a simple matter it was for children under legal age to get employment. It was easy to swear falsely, and many parents gave the ages of the children from one to three years older than they actually were.

Table Showing Difference Between Statement of Child's Age in Sworn Affidavit and in Report of Attending Physician

Child at Work	Date of Birth in Affidavit	Date of Birth Reported by Attending Physician	Age on Last Birthday According to	
			Affidavit	Physician's Record
Mill No. 1, Broad Silk:				
1	June 15, 1890	June 15, 1893	17	14
2	Dec. 25, 1891	Dec. 25, 1892	16	15
3	Mar. 16, 1891	Mar. 16, 1893	17	15
4	July 30, 1892	Aug. 30, 1894	15	13
5	Jan. 14, 1891	Jan. 14, 1892	17	16

The table as presented in the report gives the findings concerning 65 children employed in 4 silk mills of Scranton, Pa., and shows in each of the 65 cases similar discrepancies

between the age given in the affidavit and the age found in physicians' reports.*

The methods of one family in Scranton are perhaps typical of all. A widow with two sons and a nephew wished her oldest boy to go to work. She took him before an alderman in May, 1907, swore he was born in January, 1893, received his working papers and put him immediately to work. A month later the younger boy and the nephew decided that they, too, wished to go to work. They went before another alderman, the younger boy giving the date of his birth as April, 1893, *less than* 3 *months after that of his elder brother.* Both of these boys then obtained employment. Investigation showed that the older had been born not in 1893, but in 1894; that the younger boy and the nephew had been born not in 1893, but in 1895; that both these boys had gone to work at 12 and were still under age; and that all three affidavits were false. In the case of sworn affidavits, the temptations to perjury are so manifold, the magistrates so careless, and the different requirements for working papers so often changed by statute, that it is slight wonder the law was continually evaded.

Thus in the 36 mills—running, too, without their full force —640 children, or 43.1 per cent of the whole number, were working in defiance of the state laws. 173 children, 14 years or older, were employed with false working papers; 183 with no working papers at all. In addition, there were 280 children under age.

The Exodus From School

To get the employment question from another angle, the Government conducted an inquiry into 21 public schools in Lackawanna and Luzerne counties. The Pennsylvania law says children must attend school until they are 14, in all cases; in some cases until they are 16. In 1907-1908, 1,436 children left school before they were 14—481, or 33.5 per cent, going to work in coal mines, silk factories, etc. Incredible as it may seem, 16 of these children left school from Grade I, 33 from

*It should be noted that there are only 15 states in the Union which never accept the parent's affidavit as proof of age of the child seeking employment. A list of these states will be found in Table A, appended to this article.

Grade II, 225 from Grade IV, and 78 from Grade V. "The striking feature of this is the number of children going to work from the lowest grades. This means that many of them could not read and write." The school authorities made only two serious attempts to enforce the compulsory attendance law. Both these attempts were carried on successfully through school channels, and brought most of the truants back to their classes.

Children illegally at work in the silk mills very often had sisters and brothers illegally employed in other industries. The total of children illegally employed would roll up a very formidable figure. Remedies that have been tried for these conditions have been thus far only partially successful.

The Remedies Tried

The most important of these remedies is a new child labor law which went into effect in 1910, "brought about by a knowledge that the foregoing evils were widespread throughout the state." The requirements for working papers were definitely stated; the system of affidavits before aldermen was abolished and the school authorities made responsible. Five months after the law went into effect the Government made an inquiry into existing conditions. 4,116 children had tried to obtain their working papers in the 7 cities and boroughs investigated. Of these, 1,271, or 30.5 per cent, had to be rejected. Some of them could not read and write English; many others were under 14; most of them had been working previously.

The new law has helped matters in those districts where the school authorities had previously not enforced the attendance law. It has kept down the spring exodus from school. Otherwise it has had very little effect. Children still go to work illegally, still forge and alter their birth records, memorize the expected tests, and get their working papers in the names of other children. Children are still hidden in the factories when the inspector makes his rounds, and set to work again when he leaves. According to the emphatic statements of school superintendents and principals, based on specific cases within their personal knowledge, children under 14 are still at work in the mills.

Remedies Still Needed

The need of reorganizing its inspection force has been recognized and met in Pennsylvania. What then are the remedies still needed to make the existing laws actually enforced? Fairer subject matter in the test for reading and writing; a less superficial physical examination, by medical examiners; refusal to accept the mere affidavit of parents or guardians, as proof of age, even as the last resort—these are some minor remedies. But the chief need is a federal law, setting a uniform minimum standard of protection for children in establishments producing goods for interstate commerce. And back of that, the need of an enlightened and sympathetic public to raise the age limit from 12 and 14 to 16 in every state in the country, and to hold up the hands of those who oppose the wicked employment of children.*

Few employers, see the situation from this angle. Some have been complaining of changing conditions in Pennsylvania. "Before the Roosevelt era of peace," says one manufacturer, "we occasionally had a coal strike scare when the help became plentiful, but prosperous times for the heads of the families enables them to keep their daughters at home. Added to our other troubles, Scranton is blessed with a vigorous board of trade that ropes in every industry that comes along where female help is required, at the same time making no serious effort to bring industries to the city that will attract families from which to supply the older manufacturers who would like to extend and dare not."† And a Bethlehem throwster writes, "A few years ago in any fair-sized town could be found boys and girls glad to find employment; and in those communities where silk mills were located such mills had abundance of labor from which to draw, and the remuneration was considered tempting. Since that time there has been an astonishing increase in the number of knitting mills . . . (which) have slowly but surely made steady inroads on the labor supply. . . . They can and do pay better wages; they are as a rule less noisy; there is no doubt that they are kept in a much more cleanly condition."‡

* Table B, on page 61, shows the states in which children under 14 may legally be employed in mills and factories.

† Silk Association of America, Annual Report, 1906, pp. 55-56.

‡ Silk Association of America, Annual Report, 1902, pp. 45-46.

Despite this lament, however, despite the threats and fears of manufacturers, the silk industry in Pennsylvania is still holding its own. It was employing no fewer wage-earners in 1912, *two years after the enactment of the child labor law of* 1910, than it had employed in 1909, before the law. Thus child labor, it seems, is not unavoidable, and its many cruel and blighting forms have not even the excuse of industrial necessity for existence. But Pennsylvania throwsters have been unenlightened in their policy.

In its search for new fields for exploiting children, the silk industry has already built plants—15 mills in all—in North Carolina, where the 14-year limit is not established; in Virginia, where it is weakened by exemptions, and in other states, where child labor and cheap labor are still plentiful. "Many have gone," the throwsters say. "Many will follow. The throwsters of Pennsylvania, too, will soon be seeking less restricted fields. The question is, Where?" The public must clearly see to it that the answer is, Nowhere.

TABLE A

STATES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO PROOF OF AGE REQUIRED FOR WORK PERMITS

States Which Require Proof of Age Other Than Affidavit	States Which Accept Affidavits Under Certain Conditions	States Which Require Only Affidavits or Less
Arkansas	Arizona	Alabama
Connecticut	California	Delaware
Georgia*	Colorado	Idaho
Kentucky	Dist. of Columbia	Mississippi
Maine	Florida	Nevada
Massachusetts	Indiana	New Mexico
Michigan	Illinois	North Carolina
Montana	Iowa	South Carolina
New Hampshire	Kansas	South Dakota
New Jersey	Louisiana	Tennessee
New York	Maryland	Texas
Ohio	Minnesota	Utah
Oregon	Missouri	Vermont
Rhode Island	Nebraska	Washington
Wisconsin	North Dakota	Wyoming
	Oklahoma	
	Pennsylvania	
	Virginia	
	West Virginia	

* Georgia does not require proof of age after child is 14½.

TABLE B

STATES IN WHICH CHILDREN UNDER 14 MAY LEGALLY BE EMPLOYED IN MILLS AND FACTORIES (NOVEMBER, 1914)

States Which Have No 14-year Limit	States Which Have a 14-year Limit with Exemptions
Alabama	Delaware
Mississippi (boys)	California
Nevada	Colorado
New Mexico	Georgia
North Carolina	Idaho
South Carolina	Indiana
Utah	Maryland
Wyoming	South Dakota
	Texas
	Virginia
	Washington

MORTALITY AMONG COTTON OPERATIVES*

FLORENCE TAYLOR

The boy who works in a cotton mill has only half as good a chance to live to be twenty years old as the boy outside the cotton mill, and there are over 40,000 child operatives in the cotton mills today. There has long been an impression that a cotton mill was not the health resort that some mill owners claim it to be, and this report reveals a death rate so high that there can no longer be a doubt that the general effect of mill work is positively injurious to health.

"The age group, 15 to 44, in which the great majority of operatives are massed," says the report, "is one in which the mortality for operatives and nonoperatives alike should be low. Yet the operative death rate in each locality and for each period studied exceeds the nonoperative, a fact which appears to justify the inference that cotton operative work has an unfortunate influence on the health of those who follow it." (93)†

Boys and girls offer a curious contrast in their powers of resistance to the health hazards of the industry. Women of every age between 14 and 54 show a higher death rate among those who work in a cotton mill than among those who do not. This difference reaches its climax with women 35 to 44 years of age of whom twice as many operatives as nonoperatives die. Boys on the other hand succumb in largest numbers before they are 20. Boys 15 to 19 make up one-sixth of all the male workers in the cotton mills and these boy operatives have a death rate nearly twice as high as the nonoperative population of the same age. On the other hand, relatively more girl operatives than boy operatives die under 20. Not only do a

* Based on Volume XIV, Report on Conditions of Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the U. S., 61st Congress, Senate Doc. 645.

† Figures in parenthesis refer to the pages of the Federal Report.

large proportion of deaths occur between 15 and 19 but the actual death rate per 1,000 operatives of this age period is higher for girls than boys.

"The exceedingly large excess in the death rates of operatives over nonoperatives among the young workers 15 to 19 years of age must be considered especially significant, for these groups contain large numbers and represent a comparison of boys and girls who have been employed an average of two or three years with boys and girls of equal age, probably the greater part of whom have not been employed." (70)

The enormously high proportion of deaths from tuberculosis among cotton mill operatives led to an intensive study of this particular hazard. Approximately one of every two deaths between 15 and 44 years of age is due to tuberculosis. In every age period for either sex, except among males 35 to 39, the ratio of deaths from tuberculosis is higher among cotton mill workers than among the rest of the population, rising to be five times as great among women operatives 35 to 44 years old. "The fact that operatives almost without exception in each locality and in the various sex, race and age groups show such an undue proportion of deaths from tuberculosis is almost conclusive proof of a causal connection between operative work and the disease. The coincidence between work in the cotton mills and a death rate from tuberculosis higher than that of a corresponding class of nonoperatives would not be found in so many and such diverse groups were it a mere coincidence. It seems hardly open to question that operative work predisposes to tuberculosis and that its effect in this direction is greater among females than among males." (134)

"The higher death rate among operative females depends not so much upon the kind of work they do as upon the mere fact of their being engaged in mill work." (139) The work is done under conditions which undoubtedly have their effect on the tuberculous death rate. The atmosphere in the mills is always kept humid because the threads will break if the air is dry. The amount of moisture necessary to prevent the thread from breaking is not uncomfortable or harmful, but as it is extremely difficult to regulate the amount an excess is usually present. The general lack of dressing rooms where

street clothes can be hung and kept dry while factory clothes are being worn makes this excess of moisture even more dangerous. Street clothes must be hung in the moist rooms, and are exceedingly damp when the workers put them on to go out at the close of the day.

As a result of such conditions, the report finds that the operative offers less resistance to the progress of the disease than does the nonoperative, so that operatives succumb to tuberculosis in a shorter time than do nonoperatives. "Very possibly at the onset of the disease the tissues of the operative were less vigorous, combative or resistant than were those of the nonoperative, while mill work and unhygienic influences within the mill hastened the progress of the tuberculous disease." (140)

Married operatives suffer more from tuberculosis than do single operatives or married nonoperatives, their death rate being almost twice as high. "Since marriage is apt to mean maternity and maternity is an evident drain upon a woman's strength and since operative work in itself constitutes a debilitating experience which tends to raise the tuberculous death rate of even single operatives above that of nonoperatives, it is entirely reasonable that the combination of those two experiences should induce a degree of debility and consequent lack of resistance to tuberculosis which would fully account for its excessive prevalence among married as compared with unmarried operatives." (146)

Although tuberculosis is responsible for the largest proportion of deaths among cotton mill operatives, other diseases play their part, and in *every case* the operative death rate exceeds the nonoperative. Respiratory diseases other than tuberculosis come next to it in importance, followed by nonrespiratory diseases such as nephritis and diseases of the digestion. Diseases other than tuberculosis show a higher death rate for males than for females.

The investigation on which the report was based consisted of a detailed study of mortality records in three New England cities. In Fall River the 30,000 cotton workers constitute about six-sevenths of all the wage-earners in the community and one-quarter of the total population, but in Manchester

other industries employ almost as many wage-earners as the cotton mills employ. In Pawtucket the 7,000 cotton workers are less than half of all the wage-earners and about one-seventh of the total population of the city. It is evident therefore that the results were obtained in a comparison not merely between cotton operatives and people outside of industry, but ***between cotton operatives and other factory workers.***

The universally higher death rates and the greater prevalence of tuberculosis among cotton workers, combined with the fact that the cotton industry employs many more children under 16 than any other industry in the United States, lend to the industry a sinister distinction.

DANGEROUS MACHINES IN THE METAL TRADES*

HELEN C. DWIGHT

The federal report on the employment of women in the metal trades, covering investigations in 13 states (Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Iowa and Missouri), "is to a large extent a study of accidents to machine operators in the industries and establishments considered." (1)† Since only 3.11 per cent of the employees studied were under 16 years of age (in all but 4 of the 13 states covered there were laws prohibiting the employment of children under 16 at dangerous tasks), this report would not seem to touch the child labor problem vitally, yet as a detailed study of a few dangerous machines it is of great significance to those of us who are interested in safeguarding working children.

The necessity for excluding children from hazardous occupations is not yet fully recognized in the United States. Seven states have no laws as to the employment of children in such occupations and 11 other states have only a weak or unenforceable statute which amounts to nothing. In 19 states, having mining products valued at over $2,500,000 per year in 1909, mining is not recognized as sufficiently dangerous to be prohibited to children under 16. And although machine accidents are known to be a special source of occupational injury, only 23 states prohibit the operation of dangerous machines by children under 16. Of those 23 states, some name specific machines that children may not operate, while others simply prohibit all dangerous machinery, leaving it to the enforcing officials, or sometimes to a state board, to determine what

* Based on Volume XI, Report on Conditions of Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the U. S., 61st Congress, Senate Doc. 645.

† Figures in parenthesis refer to the pages of the Federal Report.

machines fall into this class. The states that do specify prohibited machines differ considerably in their lists, so that there is practically no uniformity in the United States in the methods of protecting working children from machine accidents. This report on the metal trades discusses only a few machines, but since it throws light on the specific hazards of those machines, it is an important contribution to the study of dangerous trades. It emphasises the hazards of the women employed, but from the point of view of child labor its importance lies in the light it throws on

(1)—The seriousness of the hazards of the operation of specific machines, and

(2)—The relation of these hazards to safeguards and the exercise of ordinary care on the part of the operatives.

The report considers the following industries:

Bolts, screws, etc.
Bonnet wire,
Bottle caps,
Brassware,
Corset steels,
Cutlery,
Electric lamps,
Enamel ware,
Firearms,
Foundries,
Hardware,
Jewelry,
Lanterns,
Metal buttons,
Metal novelties,
Metal specialities,
Saws and files,
Silverware,
Telephones,
Tin cans,
Tin plate,
Tinware,
Type,
Wire cloth,
Paper boxes.

The manufacture of paper boxes was included because "one of the machines used in box making is of the same type and exposes the operator to the same dangers as the stamping machines used in the metal industries. Furthermore, many metal manufacturers make the paper boxes for their own goods, and therefore operate box factories as parts of the manufacturing plants." (11) The establishments investigated included 85,225 employees of whom 23,342 were women and 2,644 were under 16 years.

For the sake of accuracy in conclusions, a group of 60 establishments, employing 48 per cent of the total number of workers, in which information as to the accidents was obtainable was used as the basis for all statistics. The accident rate for males under 16 was found to be only 2.01 per cent, and for females

under 16, 3.35 per cent, but it must be remembered that the dangerous trades laws in most of the states investigated produced this low rate by protecting children under 16 from the hazards of the machines. In factories where children were not so protected "their accident rate rose to striking figures. Thus, all the accidents to boys under 16 in the brass shops studied occurred in one factory, the only one in which they were to any extent employed on stamping presses, punch presses and the like. In that particular factory their accident rate was 16.7 per cent" (74), clear evidence of the need of prohibiting the operation of dangerous machines by children.

But the accident rate for adults is a fairer index of the hazards of the metal trades because it stands for a greater number of people and for all the ordinary conditions of work. For all the metal trades together the accident rate for workers over 16 years of age was 6.11 per cent. For certain industries it was considerably higher, as is shown in the following table (73):

Industry	Accident Rate
Tin Cans	10.8
Hardware	9.50
Brassware	7.68
Lanterns	7.30
Tinware	7.00

"The striking variations within a single industry—the accident rate for women in the six hardware establishments, for instance, ranging from 1.40 to 25.38, and in the brassware factories from 4.40 to 26.60—show the impossibility of reaching any safe conclusions as to the necessary hazards of these industries from the data at present obtainable." (77) Yet it is obvious that there are distinct hazards in these industries, and the very fluctuations of the accident rate show how little they are under control at present. And since children are recog-

nizedly more liable to accidents than adults—the Minnesota Bureau of Labor claims that it has proved that among boys under 16 there is twice as much probability of accident as among adults, and among girls under 16, 33 times as much (see U. S. Industrial Commission Report, 1902, p. 917)—it is safe to say that these accident rates for the metal trades are lower than the rates would be in states where children under 16 are allowed to operate dangerous machinery, that is, in 25 states in the Union.

The seriousness of the hazards of these trades is best shown, however, in the tables giving the physical results of 571 typical accidents. (79)

Physical Results of the Accidents	Number
Entire loss of one or more fingers	22
Loss of one or more joints of finger	61
Deformity of hands or fingers	78
Hands rendered entirely useless	2
Loss of eye	1
No permanent results	403
Unknown	5

"On the face of the records the number who suffered some permanent physical injury was 28 per cent. This is larger than occurs in other lines of manufacture. However, this does not tell the whole story, because in the above table all cases in which merely the fleshy tip of the finger was nipped off have been classed as having no permanent result. Such accidents usually leave no more serious visible results than a scar, but a careful inquiry among the operatives seems to indicate that a real loss of dexterity is entailed. The sensibility of the part is more or less destroyed and to some degree manipulation is not so sure and ready." (79)

Of the 571 accidents analyzed practically all were machine accidents, and the machines found responsible are given in the following table (81):

Machine Causing Accident	Number of Accidents
Power stamping presses	231
Foot presses	60
Riveter	22
Power presses with feeding devices	20
Drill presses	8
Former in can shops	7
Seamer in can shops	5
Punch presses	5
Roll threaders	4
Belts	3
Trimmer	3
Spinner (metal)	2
Bale bender	1
Buff wheel	1
Bumping press in can shops	2
Drop hammer	1
Groover	1
Gears	1
Header press	1
Lathe	1
Metal saws	1
Roamer	1
Shafts	1
Swedger	1
Staying machines in box shops	32
Ending machines in box shops	2
Corner cutting machines in box shops	1
Paper cutting machines in box shops	1
Wrapping machines	1
Other machine and non-machine accidents	131
Total	571

"Presses of various kinds are responsible for over half these cases of injury. . . . Next to presses the staying machine in box shops is responsible for the largest number of these accidents." (82) The stamping presses are obviously the most dangerous machines mentioned, and the description of their action makes the source of the danger plain. "The essential parts of the stamping press are these: First, there is a strong iron frame carrying a heavy fly wheel; second, upon the axis of this wheel there is an eccentric; third, actuated by the eccentric, a frame is moved up and down on guides which are carefully made to insure speedy and exact movement; fourth, this frame carries a steel die which may be changed to suit the exigencies of the work; fifth, there is a table . . . on which is placed the complement of the die and to which the die descends at the lowest point

of its excursion. The movement is so adjusted that at its lowest point very great power is exerted. The movement is sufficiently rapid to make the action of the die essentially a blow rather than a pressure. An important accessory of the machine is a trip rod actuated by a treadle. When the piece of metal has been put in place upon the bed-plate, the operator presses the treadle, the mechanism is released, the die descends, and the metal is cut, pressed or drawn as the case may be. . . . He (the operator) must put the metal in position to receive the blow, but if for any reason his fingers are not removed in time or are introduced at an improper moment, they receive the force of a blow sufficient to mold cold metal into desired forms." (67) The other presses causing accidents are similar to these stamping presses, the danger to the operator coming usually from the fact that the machine must be fed or adjusted by hand so that the hand may be caught by the mechanism which, once started, is practically out of the operator's control. The staying machines in box factories are of the same nature. "In this (machine) the box is so placed that one corner fits over the corner of an anvil. A mechanism at the back of the machine glues a strip of paper and moves it forward. At this point a plunger descends from above with a sharp blow which cuts off an appropriate length of this strip which it wraps around the corner of the box, stamping it firmly into place. . . . The strip sometimes does not come forward properly. When this occurs operatives reach beneath the plunger and pull the strip forward with the fingers (which are then in danger of being caught by the descending plunger). . . . As the plunger makes its movement the operator revolves the box from corner to corner. If the rhythm of this action of the hands becomes even slightly dissociated from that of the machine an accident is likely." (54)

The striking fact about all these machines is that the safeguards provided are in most cases unsatisfactory or are discarded by the workers or the manufacturers. "Even in those factories in which safeguards are employed, the situation, though improved, was by no means what it might be, as the methods in general use for safeguarding these machines are not the best available." (85) Box manufacturers often will not use the safeguards provided, "saying, apparently in good faith, that

they are useless or even harmful. Others say that the operatives positively refuse to use them. In this particular case the conclusion is rather forced that the device is rejected, to the danger of the operator, not because it is useless but because it is thought by both manufacturer and worker that its use somewhat lessens the output. . . . Between the earners' desire to increase the returns and the employers' desire to raise the output, safeguards are rejected and a notable number of accidents is the result." (82) In regard to the stamping process the report says, "Various devices have in recent years been applied to render these presses less dangerous. . . . The devices most generally used have one serious fault; it is possible for the operator to put his fingers over, under or through the guard which is supposed to keep them out of danger." (67)

That the safeguards are rejected, or that the operatives deliberately put their fingers "over, under or through the guard which is supposed to keep them out of danger," does not necessarily signify that operatives produce accidents by taking risks or by carelessness. The report lays special emphasis on the fact that "negligence of the worker as a cause of accidents has been greatly overemphasized." (101) It was found that 74.09 per cent of the accidents to press hands were directly caused by the ordinary use of machines, while 10.28 per cent were caused by disregard of orders. The "underlying causes" were classified as follows (67):

Underlying Cause of Accidents	Per Cent
Worker not taking ordinary care	2.44
Worker taking risks	8.40
Removal of safeguards	1.73
Inattention to surroundings	1.07
Unforeseen liability	7.38
Imperfect machinery	2.75
Fellow worker	.46
Not disclosed by Record	75.77

"A striking feature of this table is the very large proportion of cases in which it was impossible to decide upon the real underlying cause of the accident. . . . In literally hundreds of the cases included in the above table, 'Carelessness' was the unhesitating explanation of the accident, although even the most elementary study of the circumstances showed that it was but one of many factors, any one of which might with equal propriety have been assigned as the chief cause." (88) "The neglect of safeguards, the disregard of instructions, the failure to use ordinary care, and the assumption of unnecessary risks are all rather easy of detection, if they actually occur. That they are assigned as causes in relatively so few cases is a very strong indication that as factors in the high accident rate of press hands they are comparatively unimportant." (89)

"It is evident that among these workers the machine is the principal source of danger, the incidental risks to which all factory workers are exposed accounting for only a small proportion of the accidents" (87), and that at the present time there is no system of safeguards that adequately protects the worker from these machine dangers. The conclusions drawn in the report are that greater care should be taken in providing proper safeguards, in adjusting the speed of the machine to the worker, in arranging hours of labor, etc., to produce the best conditions for the worker, so as to lessen the number of accidents, for "the accidents of most frequent occurrence are largely preventable." (101) But from the point of view of the child worker the conclusion must be that the operation of the machines in question is decidedly unsafe, and must be prohibited. Indeed, in 12 of the 13 states investigated this conclusion has already been reached (3 of these states have passed dangerous trades laws since the federal investigation was made) and children under 16 are not allowed to operate the dangerous machines.

In drawing conclusions from this report on the metal trades it must be remembered that constant reference is made to the incompleteness of the material in hand which makes it difficult to make valid generalizations. But since accident reporting is inadequate almost everywhere in the United States, and reliable figures on machine accidents are hard to find, the present report seems to be as good an authority as is available, and it

is therefore justifiable for us to generalize from it. If that is so, presses of all kinds and staying machines in box shops are clearly dangerous enough to be prohibited to children. Stamping presses and staying machines are at present included in the best dangerous trades laws but as a rule *all* presses are not included. Yet presses other than power stamping presses were found responsible for 118 out of the 571 accidents analyzed in this report on the metal trades. (Riveters and rivet presses are included in these figures because their action is essentially that of a press—the riveter gives a succession of blows instead of one blow, but is otherwise like a power press). Staying machines, on the other hand, which are generally recognized as dangerous were found responsible for only 52 of the 571 accidents. Therefore, it is clear that really to protect children from these known industrial dangers, we must prohibit them from operating all presses—not simply stamping presses, or even power presses (for foot presses alone caused 60 accidents), or staying machines.

Of course in prohibiting the operation of these machines by children, the question immediately arises as to the proper age limit for much prohibition. In general, the operation of dangerous machinery is forbidden to children under 16, although some other dangerous occupations are prohibited to children under 18 or in some cases to minors under 21. The report in question throws very little light on this question of age limits. There was no attempt to find the age distribution of all the employees in the establishments studied so that the following table has only slight significance:

SEX AND AGE OF WORKERS SUFFERING ACCIDENT (81)

Age Group	Males	Females
Under 16 years	21	7
16 to 20 years	43	270
21 to 30 years	43	110
31 to 40 years	3	8
41 to 50 years	3	1
Age unknown	46	45

"The preponderance of females in the showing is owing to the fact that in many of the largest establishments the records for women and children only were taken." (81) But evidently among both males and females a large proportion of the accidents are among the workers under 20 years of age. Since the accidents are in general caused by the very nature of the machines and not by any lack of experience or efficiency on the part of the worker, it would not be fair to conclude that workers under 20 suffer accidents because of their youth, but on the other hand, it is quite justifiable to conclude that at present a large number of minors suffer accidents caused by these machines—accidents which mean, in a large per cent of cases loss of efficiency. The obvious question, then, suggested by the report, is, would it not be an economy of future efficiency to prohibit minors, or at least children under 18, from operating dangerous machines?

SOME RESULTS

OF THE

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The Child Labor Bulletin

NOVEMBER 1914

In Two Sections Section Two

The Clinker and Some Other Childre

The Clinker
and Some Other Children

Published by the

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Foreword

Once more we are offering to our friends, and to strangers whom we should like to count among our friends, a little volume of stories and verse about children who work. The stories are true, we believe, in having caught the essential tragedy of child labor.

We hesitate to express our gratitude to the writers and artists whose generous enthusiasm has made possible the present volume—one may not thank fellow workers in a common cause. We only regret that limitation of space has made it impossible for us to include all of the contributions that were received.

The message of the working children will some day have a sequel, telling of education instead of exploitation, goodness instead of vice, and happiness instead of tragedy. It must be written in the laws of the country and in the hearts of the people. Its authors must be the men and women who care.

Will you who read this message help us to prepare the sequel?

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The cover head was drawn by Vera M. Rueger.

The Child

JAMES OPPENHEIM

You may be Christ or Shakespeare, little child,
  A saviour or a sun to the lost world—
  There is no babe born but may carry furled
Strength to make bloom the world's disastrous wild!
O what, then, must our labors be to mould you,
  To open the heart, to build with dream the brain,
  To strengthen the young soul in toil and pain,
Till our age-aching hands no longer hold you.
Vision far-dreamed! But soft! if your last goal
  Be low, if you are only common clay—
  What then? Toil lost? Were our toil trebled, nay!
You are a Soul, you are a human Soul,
  A greater than the skies by star-hosts trod,
  Shakespeare no greater, O you slip of God!

Reprinted, by permission, from
"Monday Morning, and Other Poems."

The Clinker

EDNA FERBER

Hannah Shakowitz is stuck in the grate. She will not burn as fuel. She can't be dislodged by the poker. So there she sticks, between the fire-pit and the ash-pan—a clinker.

There isn't a more unpopular girl in the block than Hannah, and her unpopularity increases the nearer home she gets. When Hannah is in the bosom of her own family she is as welcome as pestilence in a war camp. This has been the state of affairs for four months, and it will continue for eight more. At the end of that time Hannah will be fourteen. Fourteen and free! Free to rise at six and go to the workshop and carry her lunch with the other Shakowitzes. Free to turn her earnings into the family coffers. When Hannah is fourteen she will no longer be in disgrace. Her unpopularity will fall from her as a load.

It all started with Mrs. Shakowitz. Mrs. Shakowitz is the wife of Hannah's brother, and a lady of ideas. One of her ideas, gone wrong, was the cause of Hannah's unpopularity.

It was her idea that Hannah should be sent for from Russia. She had heard her husband talk of Hannah as his baby sister. But Mrs. Shakowitz had two babies of her own by this time, and her unmarried sister and her more or less good-for-nothing brother were living with her and her husband in the dark, crowded, ill-smelling tenement on Chicago's west side. Husband's baby sisters in far-off Russia had little charm for her. The good-for-nothing brother earned little. The unmarried sister showed unconquerable tendencies to squander her earnings on willow plumes and white canvas pumps and blouses with a good deal of lace effect. Also there was a third Shakowitz baby on the way. Mrs. Shakowitz could be forgiven her lack of enthusiasm on the subject of her husband's baby sister.

One day there came a photograph from Russia. It was for Nathan and he gave a little cry as he unfolded the wrappings and gazed at it.

"A picture from my little baby sister Hannah!"

Mrs. Shakowitz went calmly on with her preparations for supper.

"Look how she is a big girl!" Nathan held the picture before his wife's lack-lustre eyes. And even as he held it the gleam of interest dawned in those eyes. Mrs. Shakowitz stopped stirring the mess on the stove and took the photograph between her thumb and finger, holding it off, studying it interestedly. She turned on her husband angrily.

"You said always she was a baby!"

She glared at the picture of the apple-cheeked, sturdy, solemn little girl, whose babyhood, judging from her size, was a thing of many years past.

"She is my baby sister," Nathan persisted, "only now she is grown up already like a young lady."

The gleam in the eye of Mrs. Shakowitz crystallized into resolve. "She is big like Yetta almost."

"Sure," boasted Nathan, proudly, "ain't she? A great big girl."

Mrs. Shakowitz ate her supper in silence. But her unaccustomed brain was working so hard and so fast that you could almost hear it click. After supper she spoke when the untidy kitchen was at its untidiest. The good-for-nothing brother had lounged out to meet his crowd, and the sister, too, in her soiled white slippers and her cheap lace finery that so pitifully expressed her love of all that is silken and soft and dainty—a legitimate love and all the more pathetic because perforce so inadequately expressed.

"Your little sister Hannah could to come by us," announced Mrs. Shakowitz. She was washing dishes at the sink, and she did not turn around.

Nathan Shakowitz stared. His wife felt the stare, but she did not face it.

"Hannah! Here by us! From Russia!"

"Why not?" demanded Mrs. Shakowitz. She faced him now. "For a fine girl like that there is nothing in Russia. Here she's got it good. Look at Yetta."

But Nathan, the slow-thinking, shook his head. "I would like it my little Hannah should come to America. But it costs too much."

"Costs!" cried Mrs. Shakowitz in shrill triumph. "Sure it costs. But she can work and pay, ain't it? The Lipskis upstairs they sent for her cousin. She was a greeny, too, but now she earns more as Becky herself, because she is young and strong and awful quick. Well, Hannah, she would be a greeny, too. But she would go by me to the factory and be a learner and in a month she would get her a job for money. She's smart, ain't she?"

"Smart!" Nathan flourished the picture from Russia. "Look in her face how she is smart! Sure is she!"

"We send for your baby sister Hannah, eh, Nate?" cooed Mrs. Shakowitz.

And so it was that a trembling, frightened, wide-eyed little girl who had known much sorrow in Russia, and who was to know more in this new America, landed at Ellis Island, was met there by a New York cousin of Mrs. Shakowitz, and sent on her way to Chicago. She looked her part, this

little greeny, her mouth open, her eyes bulging, her moist brown hands clutching her bulging, untidy, bewilderingly numerous assortment of luggage.

She came out of the slavery of Russia into the slavery of America. Nathan Shakowitz met her with real love, with an honest affection that had always been his for the baby sister. Mrs. Shakowitz saw what a really big little girl this baby sister was, and her kiss, too, took on a certain warmth.

Yetta, of the willow plumes, felt a just contempt for this newcomer whose head was protected by the despised shawl, badge of the greeny. Hannah, still wide-eyed, but trembling no longer, looked upon her of the willow plumes, and as she looked a resolve grew in her eyes. Hers was the plastic mind of the young and it accepted willow plumes and meat every day and warmth in the untidy kitchen and the tall buildings and the noise and the rush as part of what one might expect in this amazing America. They were kind to her, these relatives, and they made a place for her at table, and gave her a bed with Yetta and the elder Shakowitz baby, and life loomed up altogether blissful. On the fifth day of her entry into the family they arrayed her in her new American clothes, of which Hannah was almost tearfully proud, and she went off to the factory with Mrs. Shakowitz. Mrs. Shakowitz told her to stand up big and tall, and to say nothing. They were going to see the Boss, who would give Hannah a job. Hannah, her mind a delirious whirl of willow plumes, promised breathlessly to obey.

The Boss looked at Hannah.

"A greeny," he said.

"She is awful quick," said Mrs. Shakowitz. "She learns."

"All right," said the Boss, who was no time-waster. "Where's her papers?"

Mrs. Shakowitz produced them. The Boss's eye traveled laboriously through the figures, lighted on one. He raised a black and scowling face to the two.

"What you mean bringing here a kid that ain't fourteen! Get out! You think I'm going to be pinched by the child labor gang. Get out of here! She ain't only thirteen." This last in answer to the bewilderment on the faces of the trembling two.

Mrs. Shakowitz clutched her shawl. "But couldn't we to fix it by the—by the Settlement? Miss Loeb, she could to fix it."

"Naw, she couldn't fix nothin'!" snarled the Boss. "I tell you the greeny can't work till she's fourteen. It's the law. It stands in the books. Now get out."

And Hannah and Mrs. Shakowitz got out. And the greeny's aunt eyed the greeny with a look which froze that frightened little person to the marrow. The question in Hannah's face seemed to infuriate Mrs. Shakowitz ten-fold. She poured out an answer to it in a flood of Russian—a bitter, terrifying answer. And when she had finished she turned away toward the workshop. Hannah followed, dumbly. Her aunt whirled upon her, fist upraised.

"Go home!" she screamed, in Russian. "You can't stay here."

"I do not know the way," Hannah answered.

Mrs. Shakowitz shrugged her shoulders. "Find it," she said, and was gone.

It was three or four hours later that Hannah, having traveled many blocks and having seen bewildering sights and having dodged street cars and trucks and motors, was brought, a terrified, stunned, tearful little bundle, into the office of Miss Loeb, head of the Settlement House. That capable and understanding person dried Hannah's tears, gained her story piece by piece, and shook her head—that wise, sane, efficient head. And she put a hand on Hannah's head, which shows just how great-hearted she was, because she knew better than to do that with a greeny.

"Well," she said, to her assistant at the adjoining desk, "at first glance you think the joke's on Mrs. Shakowitz, but I'm afraid it's really on Hannah. She's here now. They'll have to take care of her. I'll see to that. But she was to be a paying guest, and now she's a poor relation." She turned again to the great-eyed child before her. "Poor little Hannah," she said. "Poor little clinker."

In a dim, vague sort of way Hannah understood. Perhaps it was because she had been brought up on laws and rules in far-off Russia. She realized that unhappiness was to be hers until she was fourteen. That magic age once reached, she might hope for things as they had been during those first wonderful five days.

She hates her school, because she does not fit in at all—this great, ignorant woman-child of thirteen. But she does not know why. She does not fit at home, either. She doesn't seem to fit anywhere, this baby sister of Nathan's, except at the Settlement House. Miss Loeb has found a place for her in a corner of her great heart. And when little Hannah, still beshawled of head, comes creeping in to ask in her inadequate English, "When fourteen?" Miss Loeb smiles and nods, and says, "Pretty soon, Hannah, pretty soon," and under her breath, "Very soon now, heaven help you, baby."

So Hannah is fed because the law insists that this is due her from the Shakowitzes, and Hannah is clothed, and Hannah has a place to sleep.

Every week she creeps to Miss Loeb and asks her question. And every week brings her nearer to that magic fourteen. And Hannah twists the fringe of her shawl and waits. When she is fourteen the frowns that surround her will change to smiles. When she is fourteen the looks that follow her every morsel of food will cease to be black. As a French girl dreams of marriage, as a mother longs for her child, as a beauty covets silks and jewels, so little Hannah Shakowitz waits and dreams and longs for the time when she will have attained her magic fourteen.

The Birthday

STELLA G. S. PERRY

(A windy morning in Spring. A Mother and, later, a Nurse busy themselves gently in a pretty, modern nursery. A baby girl sleeps in a tiny white bed. Mother speaks in a low tone, not to waken her. Budding branches outside the window.)

Mother: My baby's birthday! Four bright, perfect years!
God bless the day and her! Bless all the dears
Who make this earth a paradise for mothers!
Bless mine a little first (*She laughs and blushes*)—then all the others!

Voices (outside): Mothers! Mothers! Mothers! Mothers!

Mother: Was that an echo? Or did someone call?
(*Nurse enters*)
Good morning, Nurse. She did not wake at all;
She's sleeping like a kitten in the sun.
I've spread out all her presents, every one.
I know she'll clap her hands. Now, let's prepare
Her birthday breakfast. Are the berries there?
It's early for them; but she loves them so!
These came from farther south. How those winds blow!
You'd think that there were voices in the air.
Is that the special milk? That big glass—there!
She loves that fluted glass. What perfect milk!
(*Bends over the little bed*)
Her skin has that cream tone—and soft as silk!
These berries are no riper than her lips;
Their stains are like her pinky finger-tips.
Thank God for health!

First Voice: They were *my* finger-tips
That first those berries stained. A little one
Am I, to pick them all day in the sun,
So many days! It makes my back hurt so!
No wonder Sister says I'll never grow,
Not even get much bigger when I'm older—

For something has turned over in my shoulder
From stooping, stooping, stooping every day.
That baby's lips *are* red. You'd almost say
With red of hers and mine. For mine are white,
But my *back's* red enough—the sun's so bright!

Second Voice: The sun? The *sun's* not hot. It's when you pass
The dreadful furnace heat. I bore that glass
And many others back and forth all night.
My eyes were dizzied by the glaring light
That burst within the blistering furnace heat,
As back and forth I dragged my aching feet.
And in the morning, when I faced the dark
And cold and drizzle on my homeward walk,
It hurt my chest so!—

Mother: What a murmuring wind!
Like fairy voices bidding life be kind
Unto my birthday darling. Nurse, ask Will
Please to shake up the furnace. There's a chill
In the air on these spring mornings, and my dear
Must not take cold.

(*Exit Nurse*)

Third Voice: Nay, not while I am here,
A small, bent figure in the breathless hole,
Breathing in dust and sorting out the coal:
From dawn to sunset in the gloomy haze,
Never to know the joys of sunny days,
A boy in all but boyhood, I am here
To keep your baby warm.

(*Enter Nurse*)

Mother: I fear
She'll want to wear Aunt Mary's gift today;
And it's too lovely to be worn for play.
Is it not sweet? They told us in the store
'Twas like the frock a baby princess wore,
Made from the self-same model. And this flower
Gives such a dainty touch!

Fourth Voice: Hour by hour,
In, out and in, my weary needle went,
My eyes, my eyes are tired. I have spent
So many hours sewing. I can't keep
Awake a minute longer. Let me sleep!
I do not ask to play. No more! No more!
The dress is finished. Put me on the floor!

Fifth Voice (*a very infantile one*):
I made that wose.

Fourth Voice: *Rose!* She can't say it right.

Fifth Voice: But I can *make* it. That one took till night,
But that's because I was so tired then;
I made them quicker when I twied again.
It looks so pwetty on that little dwess!
I'll have a birthday—some day—too—I guess.
So many little petals—hard to make—

Fourth Voice: Oh! Nothing's hard, if you can keep awake.

Sixth Voice: Not hard? Not hard to walk the endless day
Among the dashing shuttles? Easy, pray,
With burning eyes, to tie the whirring thread
While noises thunder in your whirling head,
Rattle forever in your throbbing head?
A cotton dress! I wish I wore it, dead!

Mother: The wind again! I'll put the wee dress here
Among the pretty toys. She stirs—my dear!

Seventh Voice: I dressed the doll.

Eighth Voice: And I put on its hair.

Ninth Voice: Those little bells! I tied them all on there,
There were so many like them! When I slept
They seemed still jingle-jangling and I kept
On waking up. So Mother made me take
Another boxful—since I was awake.

Seventh Voice: I dressed the doll. I'll not forget that day;
My throat hurt so! And then I went away
To such a lovely place! Wee beds, all white,
And kind blue ladies by you, day and night,
To care for you and love you! But the best
Of all they did was that they let you rest.
A lovely place! I had diphtheria then;
I wish I had it now, to go again.

Mother: They say there's good luck in a talking breeze.
How it does murmur!

An Angel's Voice: Mother! Unto these——

Mother: She's waking, Nurse, she's waking! Love, look here!
A gay and happy birthday to my dear!

The Angel's Voice:

God pity those with ears who cannot hear!
Pity the hearts whose very blessing smothers
The motherhood that should be blessing others!

Voices (wailing):

O, Mothers! Mothers! Mothers!

A Vision

Through the ether of space there roamed a calm, dispassionate Spirit. Below him he saw the Earth, and he paused for a time in his eternal flight to see what manner of men lived thereon.

From afar he heard the roar of cannon and the groans of dying men. A great sadness came over him, for he saw that on other worlds than this the Prince of Peace must abide.

Then he heard that to the west there lay a mighty land that heard with horror that from the ether, whence came the Spirit himself, a bomb had been dropped on defenseless women and children. With hope in his heart he left for this fair land, where the suffering of children and women could rouse a whole nation. He came to a great city, whose skyscrapers breathed wealth and plenty. But what was this? Anger was added to sadness when the Spirit saw countless tenements where mothers and their children bent over their work. Tired baby fingers fashioned silk flowers. Children, with world-old faces, were tying fronds for miladi's plumes.

Sadly the Spirit flew over green fields to the sunny south. There he would find good-will toward men. He stopped his flight when he drew near great factories and hovered over them just as the shrill whistles blew. Then,

> Slow feet dragged on the threshold;
> They came through the wide-flung door;
> Children and children and children,
> Children and children more.
>
> Children in whose white faces
> The eyes of the child were dead;
> Shoulders stooping and twisted;
> Hands where the wounds were red.

In the cities he heard earnest men and women voicing the bitter cry of the children. In vain. The fair land that thrilled with horror when a few children and women met death in the nations' struggle for supremacy turned deaf ears to the piteous cries of children, forced into a living death that a few men in frock coats might prosper.

Heavy-hearted, the Spirit flew farther west, past great cities, graft-ridden and ruled by men more powerful than Oriental potentates. Beyond the great water he came to another land where misery lurked. In countless dens he saw men, dead to every moral sense. That a mighty nation might draw untold wealth from her poppy fields, this unhappy land was held in bondage. Here was no evidence of brotherly love, and farther north the Spirit flew. There he saw prisons filled with starving men and women. Their faces were dulled from much misery, but their eyes were bright with the light of coming insanity. Naught could the Spirit see in that great land but oppression and misery.

Farther he flew and again he heard the boom of cannon. He bent over a youth, lying where the enemy's bullet had found him. Useless but merciful was his death. On the quiet face was no sign of the living death that the Spirit had seen so often on his sad journey.

One more glance the Spirit gave to the Earth where he had seen so much of man's inhumanity to man. As he passed into the ether again, he sternly spoke the command of the Prince of Peace:

"He that is without sin among you, cast the first stone."

This contribution came to the National Child Labor Committee unsought and unsigned.

Buttons and Bertha

LOUISE DRISCOLL

Bertha sat all day long by a window and sewed buttons on a card. She seldom looked out of the window and seemed oblivious of the rows of ash-barrels on the other side of the street and of the swarming life on the fire-escapes. The quarrels of the children and occasional street-fights aroused no interest. She finished a card and laid it by and took up another card and sewed buttons on it. She could hardly remember doing anything else.

When her father was alive Bertha had gone to school for a short time and she had learned to read a little. She could read now what was printed on the backs of the cards. When she was seven years old her father had died and after that, instead of sewing buttons on cards after school hours and in the evenings, Bertha sewed buttons on cards all day long and far into the night. She had many strong needles and she would thread them all with a fine cord and then sew rapidly all day long, day after day, days that ran into years.

Bertha was not quite fourteen years old, but she looked twenty. She had a fine, graceful, voluptuous figure, graceful in spite of the fact that she had spent seven years in one chair, with only her hands busy. She had learned that if she sat pretty still and worked steadily she might escape the blow her mother was so ready to bestow.

Susie was less than a year old when her father died. A teacher in a public kindergarten near by had discovered Susie and had coaxed her into the schoolroom. Susie was a troublesome child and the mother was willing to have her out of the way part of the time; and then, when she began to teach Susie to sew buttons, she found the child slipping away whenever opportunity offered, and running to the kindergarten. So, at the age of six, when Susie ought to have been counted a regular wage-earner, the mother was astonished and angry to find the child's will crossing her own. The mother was willing to have Susie learn to read and write. She had been refused a card from the Union because she was unable to do these things. Her plan was simple. She meant to show Bertha how to make the artificial flowers at which she herself worked endlessly, and for which slightly better pay was to be had than could be earned by buttons, and then Susie was to do the buttons. It was at this point that she was first baffled.

She was an indomitable woman, quick with oath and blow. She had fought starvation from the door with her bare hands and she looked on the world as the wolf. She found that Bertha could not learn to make the

flowers. Bertha's hands had been trained to do one thing and they were clumsy at everything else. When Bertha tried to light the fire she dropped the match and burned her dress. When Bertha tried to cook, the dinner was scorched. Things slipped through Bertha's fingers and were broken.

"You are good for nothing but buttons!" the mother scolded, and Bertha shrugged her beautiful shoulders that were like white marble under her coarse dress, and went back to her chair and her buttons.

Then the mother began to find that Susie was not easily controlled. Susie was learning more than reading and writing and sums. Susie made friends with her teachers and they put notions into the child's head. Susie went regularly to the Little Mothers' House on West Street and she learned to sew, which her mother approved, and she learned to cook, which her mother tolerated, sniffing at first over strange messes, but accepting them eventually. But Susie had not learned all these things without also learning to think, and now that she was eight years old she had no intention of giving up her pleasant school to spend her life sewing buttons on cards, as she had seen her sister do. Susie had heard of truant officers and, with the ingenuity of the slum-bred child, she invoked their aid, through one of her teachers. So the truant officer made more than one visit to Susie's home, and at last was able to make the mother understand that Susie would be taken from her and put in some institution if she were not allowed to go to school. The mother was wildly angry and struck Susie when the officer had gone out, but Susie, suddenly inspired by successful intervention from the world outside, dodged the blow skilfully and remarked, with an irritating air of having the matter under consideration, that she wasn't quite sure she wouldn't like the institution—"for there nobody can't lick you," she said.

Bertha, drawing her needle through the card, fastening one button and another and another in its place, felt stir within her a faint thrill of interest, the first she had known for many months. Susie sewed a few cards full of buttons and then started to get ready the evening meal. Bertha watched her. A new element had entered the home. The mother had fought physical starvation; the starvation that her children knew, she could not understand. Bertha had begun to wonder why she could not do anything but sew buttons. She watched Susie's quick, accurate hands and looked at her own fingers that had never learned to do more than one thing. Her hands were like some machine that thrust a needle into cardboard and drew it out again at evenly spaced distances. Bertha began to look out of the window.

Susie grew more independent daily. At school her teachers praised her and she grew contemptuous of her mother's disapproval. A dressmaker who lived a few blocks above, in a slightly better neighborhood, noticed

Susie as she went by to school and spoke to her. She asked Susie to do some small errands and paid her for them. Susie executed her commissions so promptly and correctly that the woman's interest increased and the child fell into a way of stopping regularly to see if she were needed. With the money she earned in this way Susie was very independent. Sometimes she gave it to her mother, sometimes she gave only part, and sometimes she spent it all as she saw fit, in strange extravagances. One day she brought Bertha a yard of crimson ribbon, shimmering, glowing stuff that brought an answering flush to Bertha's pale cheek.

"Put it in your hair," said Susie; "you've got grand hair."

And Bertha touched her own thick, dark braids as though she had just learned they were there.

The mother was very angry and struck Susie, who smiled a little and went out. The mother began to learn that when she struck Susie she got no money and she became more careful, but she brooded darkly.

Susie was less and less to be depended upon in the home. One day there were piles of finished cards to be taken to the factory and Susie was not there, so Bertha had to go. Bertha went out so seldom that she shrank from the street at first. She was timid and the noise confused her, but as time passed and she went more frequently, she grew to like it and tried to work faster, so she could go more often. One day when she brought her box to the office of the factory there was a fat, red-faced man there who stared at her. When the clerk took her box to empty it and fill it again with fresh cards and loose buttons, the red-faced man put his hand under Bertha's chin and lifted her face to his.

"You are a very pretty little girl," he said, and then left her quickly as the clerk returned.

Bertha almost danced home. She looked at herself in the dingy windows of the shops she passed, and craned her neck like a bird as she saw herself reflected there. There was a milliner's shop on a corner where she turned on her way to and from the factory, and here some hats were displayed. There was one that held Bertha's attention. It was a large black straw hat with scarlet wings that swept back over the crown. Bertha caught her breath and clasped her hands as she looked at it. Bertha's mind worked slowly, and when it reached a point dwelt on it. For years she had known nothing but buttons—she saw them, felt them, dreamed about them. Now she dreamed about the color and the shimmer of the red ribbon Susie had brought her. The wings on this hat were like that. She longed to possess it. She touched the thick hair Susie had said was pretty. The red-faced man had told her she was pretty. She was aroused from her reverie by the consciousness that someone was looking at her, and she met the eyes of a

man who stood in the doorway of a saloon across the street. He smiled at her. She flushed and hurried away. He watched her go down the street.

After that, every time Bertha went to the factory, she stopped and looked at the hat. It lingered through the spring and into the early summer, slowly marked down from $12 to $10, to $8.50, to $7.95. Bertha wondered why no one bought it and rejoiced each time she found it was still there. She called it her hat. And always the man was watching her. One day he crossed the street to meet her.

"Pretty hat, isn't it?" he remarked casually, and Bertha raised her startled eyes to his, blushing furiously.

"Yes, yes," she faltered, and she hurried away from him.

"You needn't be afraid of me," he called after her, but she did not turn to look at him.

Twice a week she went, and she grew used to meeting him. At first he only smiled at her, but by and by they exchanged a word or two of greeting, and over her buttons, all day long and half the night, Bertha dreamed of those meetings. She watched Susie and tried to imitate the child's self-sufficient, confident manner. Susie always touched things with a definite purpose, intelligently, but Bertha could not. Bertha was not clever, but she had learned that she was beautiful.

She lingered one day, talking with the man who always waited for her by the milliner's window where the red wings were still displayed. A huge tag, with all the preceding prices crossed by a black line, bore a final announcement, "For today only—$6.98."

"Will you let me buy it for you?" asked the man. "It would look fine with your hair."

Bertha flushed deeply, beautifully hesitant; then she put her hand to her throat and fled from him. He did not try to follow her, but he smiled as he saw her go. The mother was angry because she had been gone so long. She took down the whip, not much used of late, and she beat Bertha savagely for a minute or two, working off her fretted temper. Her old absolute power was slipping from her and she felt it, helplessly. It was a little world, these two dingy rooms, but she had been unquestioned there until these last few months, and now resentment burned within her soul. Bertha did not cry out, although the whip marked her white flesh. Her silence half frightened the mother, who struck harder once or twice and then stopped suddenly. She could battle with outcry and rebellion but this new enemy of stillness that seemed half scorn baffled and threw her back upon herself. Bertha hardly looked at her during the week that followed. Bertha was fourteen that week, but no one noticed her birthday. She looked much older. On Saturday she took the finished cards to the factory.

"Don't get any more," said the man, who went with her to the factory door. "You needn't work," he said. "I've got plenty of money."

She came from the factory that day for the first time with empty hands. She was like a creature made new. Her face glowed with excitement, half fear, half happiness. The man took her back to the millinery shop and they bought the hat. A few minutes later Susie saw them getting on a car. Bertha was wearing the black hat with its scarlet wings.

Susie stood still for a minute, looking after them, and then she went home thoughtfully. At the age of eight Susie knew much of life. Life swarmed about the doorways she entered and the alleys through which she passed. There was no way by which she could avoid knowing. She entered cautiously, ready to call her mother's attention to the fact that she was not Bertha. The mother was very angry indeed. She had taken the whip from its corner and it lay on the table where she worked. She was making little purple violets, thrusting the bit of cloth through the wire stem and then twisting a strip of green paper around the wire. Her hands moved swiftly. She gathered the flowers into clusters and threw them upon the table, where they fell upon the whip and around it. Once or twice she looked ominously toward the door. Bertha had never been so long before. When Susie came in she rose.

"Cut it, Ma," said Susie, dodging dexterously. "I ain't done anything. I mean, I haven't done nothing."

Susie was trying to consider her English these days. She spoke, as nearly as she was able, like the dressmaker whom she greatly admired.

"Where is Bertha?" demanded the mother.

From a room across the hall there came the sound of a blow and of a falling body. A woman's scream rang out. Susie pushed the door shut.

"If I was Mis' Connerty," said Susie, fixing a steady, unchildlike gaze upon her mother, "If I was Mis' Connerty I wouldn't stand for that. Any justice of the peace 'ud stop it for her. She could get him sent up. That's what I'd do if any one was to lick me."

Truly Susie had learned many things. Her face and attitude were a curious, almost ludicrous contrast to her little figure.

"Where is Bertha?" demanded the mother again, in tones trembling with something more than rage, the impotent struggle of old power against new power it cannot understand.

"You can search me," said Susie. "I seen her get on a car with a guy—I mean a gentleman—about ten minutes ago, and I come right home to tell you about it. Now you needn't to hit me, 'cause I won't stand for it."

The whip fell unused into its bed of violets; the scentless, cotton things

received it. Susie saw it sink among them. The mother's hands opened and shut convulsively and her lips twitched.

"The thing to do," said Susie, in her businesslike way, "is to tell the Gerry S'ciety. Bertha ain't eighteen, and until you're eighteen they can take you. That's what the truant officer said about me, you remember," she added, with discreet policy.

It was six months before they learned where Bertha was, though she had not gone far. Her lover had hired three rooms over a little shop and they had set up a sort of housekeeping. The man soon learned that Bertha could not work, but she was prettier every day and each new ornament he bought for her seemed to bring out new radiance. She bloomed like some weakling plant set in warm light. She laughed and played and fluttered her little, useless hands at him, and he realized that she really tried to cook and clean but simply could not.

"You're the lady, all right," he said to her, and was rather proud of her inability. He was a gambler and in luck just then, so they were able to take their meals at a small restaurant that seemed like Paradise to Bertha's unaccustomed eyes. He hired a woman to do the washing and cleaning for them, and he took Bertha about with him and showed her beauty in lavish dress. When he saw how other men admired her he kept her jealously and he was kind to her because she fed his pride.

When the mother was told where Bertha was she put out her hand for the whip. "I'll kill her," she told the neighbors. "Leaving her home and her mother like that." There were no more buttons in the room. Susie had declined to sew buttons. But the floor was littered with artificial flowers, and the mother muttered above white daisies and yellow buttercups when Miss Crosby came to see her. Miss Crosby was Susie's teacher and had been foremost in the endeavor to find Bertha.

"I have learned where she is," said Miss Crosby, "and I am going to see her. I shall try to persuade her to come back. You must be very kind to her—it won't do any good to scold. Give her a chance to begin again."

The mother looked voiceless scorn upon Miss Crosby.

Miss Crosby found Bertha. Bertha greeted her passively, with a little pride in displaying her much ornamented parlor, but Bertha refused to consider going home.

"Your mother will forgive you," pleaded Miss Crosby, who had not quite understood the mother's silence. "You can have everything you left back again."

"I didn't leave anything but buttons," said Bertha, simply.

Miss Crosby looked at the little room, with its gaily flowered carpet and ornate curtains. There was a profusion of cheap and elaborate ornament.

This was what Bertha wanted. It was all hers. Everywhere there was evidence of an effort to please her. Miss Crosby recalled that other home and felt faint-hearted.

"But don't you want to be a good girl, Bertha?" she pleaded.

"What for?" asked Bertha.

All the tragedy of her starved childhood was in her words. Miss Crosby felt hot tears sting her eyes.

"She is only fourteen years old!" thought Miss Crosby, helplessly. "A little girl!" Where must one begin, where should the blow be struck to change all this? And who shall give childhood to those unchildlike eyes? Bertha's eyes were happy. She was stupid and vain. She loved comfort like a little animal. She looked at Miss Crosby serenely.

"You'd better go," she said. "He won't like it if he finds you here."

Miss Crosby grasped the straw. "Will he be cross to you?" she asked, with unnecessary sympathy.

"Oh, no," said Bertha confidently. "He will be cross to you. He knocked a man down that spoke to me."

"Bertha," said Miss Crosby, earnestly, "won't you listen to me a minute? Think about Susie. Don't you want to set a good example to her?"

Bertha shook her head. "Susie can take care of herself," she affirmed.

Miss Crosby grew firm. "If you won't go home yourself," she said, "the Society will take you and put you in an institution. Probably they will send you to the Island. You won't like that?"

"No," said Bertha, "but it's better than buttons."

Miss Crosby wept as she left her. When the Gerry Society agent called later in the day he could not find Bertha, and the neighbors said that her lover had taken her away.

Miss Crosby saw Bertha twice after that. Once she saw Bertha stepping into a motor-car that waited before one of the Fifth Avenue shops. A Hebrew of prosperous appearance sat in the car and put out his hand to her. Bertha did not notice the proffered help but sat beside him quietly. She was wonderfully beautiful. The quiet of her face might easily be mistaken for exquisite repose. Miss Crosby knew it was absence of feeling and of intelligence. A year or two later Miss Crosby saw her in Paris. She sat alone in a perfectly appointed victoria on the Bois de Boulogne. The people in the street looked after her, admiring, but she did not seem to see them. Her little, useless hands were gloved and they lay idly in her lap.

A Christmas Doll

MARGARET WIDDEMER

"Smiling dolly with the eyes of blue,
Was it lovely where they fashioned you?
Were there laughing gnomes, and did the breeze
Toss the snow along the sparkling trees?"

"Tiny hands and chill, and thin rags torn;
Faces drawn with wakeful night and morn;
Eyes that strained until they could not see;
Little mother, where they fashioned me."

"Gold-haired dolly in your silken dress,
Tell me where you found your loveliness.
Were they fairy-folk who clad you so,
Gold wands quivering and wings aglow?"

"Narrow walls and low, and tumbled bed,
One dim lamp to see to knot the thread,
This was all I saw till dark came down,
Little mother, where they sewed my gown."

"Blue-eyed dolly on my Christmas tree,
Tell the wonder-things you saw to me.
Were there golden birds and silver dew
In the fairylands they brought you through?"

"Weary footsteps all, and weary faces,
Serving crowded in the crowded places.
This was all I saw the Christ-eve through,
Little mother, ere I came to you."

"Blue-eyed dolly in the Christmas green,
What do all your stranger-stories mean?
Are there children, then, who cannot say
Thanks to Christ for this His natal day?"

"Ay, there's weariness and want and shame,
Pain and evil, in the kind Christ's name,
Things the peasant Christ-Child could not know
In His quiet manger long ago!"

Child Slaves

ELBERT HUBBARD

Capital is king, not cotton. But occasionally capital is blind and deaf to all that is not to its interest. It will not act while child labor means increased dividends on industrial stocks.

If the child workers of Southern mills could be marshaled by bugle call, headed with fife and drum, and marched through Commonwealth Avenue, out past that statue of William Lloyd Garrison, erected by the sons of the men who dragged him through the streets at a rope's end, the sight would appal the heart and drive conviction home.

Imagine an army of twenty thousand pigmy bondsmen, half naked, half starved, many of them yellow, weazened, even deformed in body, with drawn faces that show spirits too dead to weep, too hopeless to laugh, too pained to feel!

Would not aristocratic Boston lock her doors, bar the shutters and turn in shame from such a sight?

I know the sweatshops of Hester Street, New York; I am familiar with the vice, depravity and degradation of the Whitechapel district; I have visited the Ghetto of Venice; I know the lot of coal miners of Pennsylvania, and I know somewhat of Siberian atrocities; but for misery, woe and hopeless suffering I have never seen anything to equal the cotton mill slavery of the South—this in my own America, the Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave!

For the adult who accepts the life of the mills I have not a word to say—it is his own business. My plea is in defense of the innocent; I voice the cry of the child whose sob is drowned in the thunder of whirring wheels.

The iniquity of this New Slavery in the New South has grown up out of conditions for which no one man, or class of men, it seems, is amenable. The interest of the cracker, the preacher, the overseer, the superintendent, the president and the stockholders are so involved that they cannot see the truth—their feet are ensnared, and they sink into the quicksands of hypocrisy, deceiving themselves with specious reasons. They must be educated and the people must be educated.

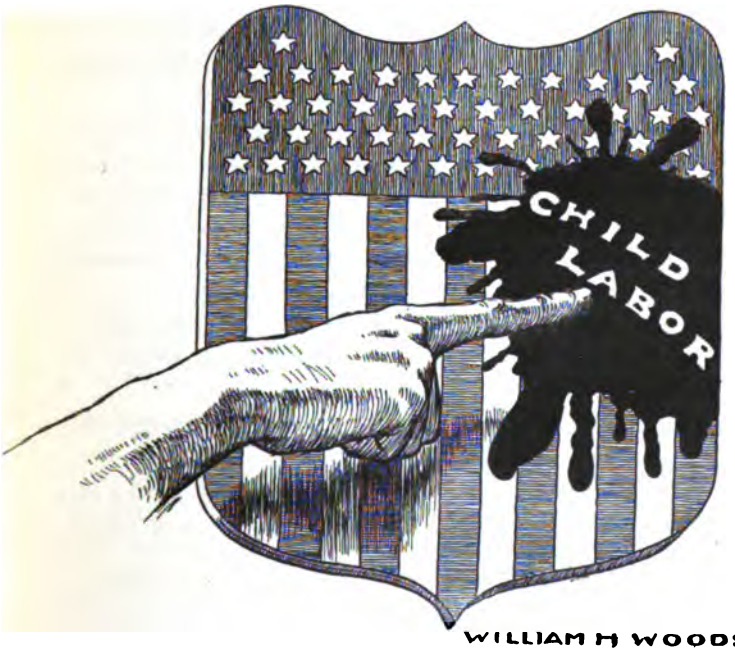
So it remains for that small yet valiant band of men and women in the South who are fighting this iniquity to hold fast and not to leave off in their work until the little captives are made free.

Right will surely win.

And to these earnest men and women who are braving ostracism, and who

are often scorned in their own homes, who have nothing to gain but the consciousness of having done right, we reach friendly hands across the miles, and out of silence we send them blessings and bid them be strong and of good cheer.

Seemingly they fight alone, but they are not alone, for the great, throbbing, melting Mother-heart of the world has but to know of their existence to be one with them.



How Long?

You See Him Every Day

STELLA G. S. PERRY

He lived on the slope where the olives ripen earliest, and he gave thanks that Greece, his fatherland, had accepted Minerva's gift. For he loved the olive trees as one loves the soft cuddle-spot under the arm of one's mother. They had cradled, protected, fed and blessed him.

He had no human mother now. I cannot be ruthless enough to tell you the boy's grief when his mother died. She alone of the Greek women about him had looked like the grand matrons of antique legend. And she had loved her son like the mother of Achilles.

This boy was viewed without insight by his father, who saw in him only a handsome, healthy lad whose clothes and food became more and more problematical.

But he had a godfather, now in America, who understood him. The boy had had glorious talks with this adventurous and successful patron, who had returned to Greece for one summer, jingling with coin and experience.

This one had told him of America, the land of promise, where industry brought an infallible, inevitable reward. He had succeeded there; when the boy was old enough he would send for him.

He kept his word. He sent. He said to his partner, "It pays, this godfather business. You shall see. He must return his expense money. Oh, he will be valuable a hundred-fold!"

The boy lived in the spirit. He had been unhappy among the olive trees; yet they themselves had been his happiness.

He rose very early in the morning of the last day and, after peering carefully about for the callous observer, he embraced the olive trees, pressing his wet cheek against them for farewell.

He crossed the seas in a golden dream of high achievement. He would learn, he would aspire, he would grow into the feeling of the new land, to use it. He would follow the best and greatest leaders. Some day he would be great and good himself. She should see, then, when he returned, that gray-eyed girl who flouted him!

At New York his godfather met him on the pier. There was something lacking in his welcome.

The boy, in his debt, must work for him, he said.

"Oh, very gladly!"

* * * *

In what seemed like ten years to him, he had worked for six months. He blacked shoes all day and late into the night. Then, when he was sick for sleep, he washed the filthy rags.

That is what he saw of America.

He slept in a sty with seven other boys—all godsons, carefully blessed by the same godparent on his earlier journeys to the fatherland. For this godparent had the long vision and could see far ahead.

The window in the sty was seldom open. The crowded street was thick with flying dust. The American air the Greek boy breathed had always been breathed before.

The food he had to eat was unspeakably dirty and often very scarce.

By this time his fine, straight shoulders were bowed. For the first time in his life he became conscious of his digestive apparatus.

He was paid so little that now he knew he could not for many, many years be free from bondage of his debt. The tips he received he could not keep. They belonged to his patron.

Then he rebelled. His godfather found him troublesome. But, as the months went by, the futility of revolt wrought its own cessation.

He is still at the shoes by day; by night, still in the sty.

The learning he aspired to he has no time for. He does not even learn English.

The music in his soul has turned to wailing.

The memory of the olive trees is a stabbing sword.

The memory of the gray-eyed girl is humiliation.

He has in his spirit all that makes poets, sages, leaders of thought and pioneers of feeling.

He is a clod of bitterness.

Those who pass him say scornfully, "Ignorant foreigner! Such will ruin us!"

But nobody saves him.

This story has no end. That is the pity of it.

The City Children to the Story-teller

LAURA BENÉT

Tell us a story to make us see
Things that gleamed on us long ago;
Daisy meadows and fairy rings,
Greening woods, where the brown thrush sings,
And the shining blue where a sea-gull wings,
Teller of tales!

Tell us a story to make us hear
Murmurs we dreamed ere we were born;
Rippling water and running breeze,
Bobolink's note in the windy trees,
And the mighty silence of summer seas,
Teller of tales!

Tell us a story to make us feel
Childhood's blood in our veins again.
For we are tired of grown-up fears,
Tired of grown-up pains and tears,
Sick of the stretch of the sordid years.
Give us a chance to laugh again,
Give us a play hour in our pain,
Teller of tales!

Used For Effect

HELEN C. DWIGHT

"Lady to see Miss Vardon," called the doorman. "She's got a card."

Out of the blackness behind him a voice answered, "Sen' 'er up!"

"Elevator to yer lef'," said the doorman, and Frances Brewster walked expectantly into the atmosphere of "behind the scenes."

The hallway was dimly lighted, but she kept steadily to the left, looking for the elevator. As she reached it a man with a felt hat pulled down over his eyes peered out curiously.

"Miss Vardon?" asked Frances.

The man nodded, pointing a thumb over his shoulder into the unlighted elevator. Frances hesitated. But as she was about to step forward a small avalanche of screaming, shoving children rushed down the hallway, propelling her ahead of them into the elevator.

"'Ere—watch yer step! Whaddye mean shovin' the lady?" growled the elevator man.

"Aw, shut up, Sweeney," replied a piping voice, quickly. "Can't y' see we're late an' ol' Marx'll give us hell?"

Frances started. The last word had come out so shrilly in the darkness. She could just see a small figure in front of her, evidently a girl, perhaps ten years old. There were four other small figures and one a trifle larger that seemed to be a boy of about twelve.

"Sure she will," said this figure. "An' she's got her nerve. Didn't they keep us here till four this afternoon without any lunch? Mom says she ain' goin' t' stan' fer it. If they can't keep decent hours, she's goin' t' take me out."

"Aw, a lot she will! Yes, she will not! Aw, get out!" shrilled the children together.

"She will, too! I kin get a job with Flanchon doin' eccentric dancin' any day—jus' one turn a day, too," the boy insisted.

"Aw, you make me sick!" This time it was the piping voice again. "Don' give me none o' that line o' talk. Don' I know you an' yer ma were sittin' in Dutton's office every day till she kicked y' out? Don' I know you grabbed this job like a hobo grabbin' a drink? You couldn't do eccentric dancin' no more'n Sweeney!"

The others burst into a scream of joy at this idea.

"Sure—like Sweeney you'll do eccentric dancin'!" they yelled.

"You —— kids, shut up or I'll paste every —— one of you!" shrieked the boy.

"Miss Vardon to yer right," broke in Sweeney, gruffly, and Frances discovered that the elevator had stopped and she was expected to step out of it.

"Say, catch on t' the sport—goin' t' see Vardon—don't she think she's it!" followed her from the elevator as she turned toward Miss Vardon's dressing-room.

The great Miss Vardon greeted her with befitting graciousness. She had not yet put on her make-up; she sat, dressed in a loose, pale blue garment, while her maid brushed her hair. She reached out one long hand and said in a voice that Frances mentally described as "liquid velvet":

"Ah, my dear child! It's so sweet of you to come. I can't tell you how glad I am to see Fanny Allen's daughter at last! But what's the matter? You look frightened or hurt, child. What is it?"

"Oh, nothing—that is—I think—" Frances stammered. "The children—in the elevator—they upset me—they—they were so noisy—and they said such terrible things. It seems dreadful, you know—they are so small!"

She looked at Miss Vardon, appealingly.

"Oh, yes," said the liquid velvet voice. "It's too bad! They do get quite objectionable sometimes. They pick up so many things they shouldn't. It's too bad. But it can't be helped. One has to use them, you know—for the effect."

The liquid velvet voice possessed a soothing quality. Miss Vardon smiled, too, as she talked, in a quiet, assured way that somehow stilled Frances' jarred nerves.

"Yes, of course," she found herself answering, and the interview went on smoothly.

Finally Miss Vardon dismissed her. "You ought to be running along," she said. "I have to put on my war-paint, and you must find your seat. I hope it's a good one."

So Frances said her farewells and thanks confusedly, and was at last in the elevator once more, being borne downward by Sweeney.

Her seat was well to the front in the center, certainly a very good one, thanks to Miss Vardon, her mother's old friend. The play, a fantasy by a very modern poet, was decidedly the thing this year. Its stage effects, the great Miss Vardon with her stately ways and remarkable voice, the dashing incidental music and the carefully trained company had combined to make it the sensation of the season. Frances considered herself extremely lucky to be seeing it—to say nothing of having a personal interview with the star "behind the scenes."

The orchestra played a soft, tripping dance, and the curtains parted. The scene was laid in the depths of a forest and staged, not with the usual painted wood scene, but with what seemed to be innumerable tall gray trees, melting into a background of dark green. The audience gasped. The orchestra still played the tripping dance, and suddenly through the tall gray trees there came wandering, singing to herself and dancing lightly, a peasant girl in brown—Miss Vardon! The audience clapped spontaneously, but stopped almost as soon as it began, for, magically, from out the trees were springing wood-nymphs in pale green and white, surrounding the peasant girl, dancing about her, bewildering her completely. The music quickened; the audience held its breath—the play was on.

The next act opened in the same scene. The peasant girl, captured by the wood-nymphs, had now become their queen and was holding court. Miss Vardon, in rich green, with a narrow silver fillet in her brown hair, sat on a moss-bank in the center of the stage. The nymphs were seated before her on the ground in semi-circular rows, their backs to the audience. A herald-nymph ran in.

"Little mortals!" she announced, breathlessly. "Wandering through our wood!"

And through the trees came slowly a troop of peasant children. In front a girl, perhaps ten years old, with long yellow curls, walked hand in hand with a taller, brown-haired boy of about twelve. They came through the forest with a wide-eyed simplicity that caught the heart of the audience. When they saw the wood-nymphs the little girl hesitated and put her fingers to her lips, shyly. She edged closer to the boy and the other children crowded behind them.

"Aren't they *sweet!*" exclaimed the lady next to Frances.

But Frances was staring, horrified. The little girl, with her yellow curls and wide, innocent blue eyes, was certainly the child of the piping voice. "She'll give us hell!" echoed in Frances' ears. The sturdy, brown-haired boy was the would-be eccentric dancer. "I'll paste every —— one of you," he had said.

The children were standing shyly before the wood-nymph queen. The queen smiled in a quiet, assured way; the liquid velvet voice began to speak. It was a wonderful scene. The effect was perfect. But Frances shivered a little as she watched it. In the back of her mind she saw an unlighted elevator from which issued childish voices saying coarse, rough things. While the liquid velvet voice recited beautiful lines to the audience, in Frances' ears it seemed to say, "It's too bad. But it can't be helped. One has to use them, you know—for the effect."

Slowly the curtains closed. The effect had been achieved.

Newsie-boy

MIRIAM TEICHNER

War is your stock-in-trade. A murder means
More pence for you. You gabble of men's greeds
And mud-splashed passions, and their blood-hued scenes
With joy. You cry a crime and mouth foul deeds
With sly-eyed pleasure. This the street has made
Of you, with murder as your stock-in-trade.

And oh, you're just a little boy, a little, little, little boy;
Who ought to be a-brimming with a puppy sort of frolic joy.
Your rat-sharp eyes should be all bright with baby wonder and delight,
For oh, you're just a little boy, a little, mother's-lap-size boy.

The street is home for you. You eat and sleep
With bigger boys and hark to what they say,
And think them mighty men and, shamefaced, keep
Your baby fears and thoughts all hid away.
You're starved for food and sleep and love, though you
Would scoff at this and call it all untrue.

And oh, you're just a little lad, a little lad, a little lad,
Who ought to think the world's a place for having fun and being glad,
Who ought to be good friends with trees and chummy with the sky
and breeze,
And who's to blame, I wonder, if you grow up queer and gross and bad?

Drawn by George Harger *Copyright, Life Publishing Co.*

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Who ought to be a-brimming with a puppy sort of frolic joy.
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Willie: A Dead Issue

JESSIE A. MCGRIFF

His name was Willie, but the boys on the block called him "Billikin" and "Kewpie," because of his curiously inflated abdomen. They used to laugh at the queer figure he cut with his three-quarter length overalls flapping about his spindling legs, and his narrow shoulders, grown a bit lopsided with carrying his heavy burlap bag of newspapers.

But Willie never heeded their laughter and when, with the merciless mimicry of youth, they would fall in line behind him and imitate his jolting walk and flat, nasal cry, he would merely stretch his pale lips in a sickly smile and trudge on his pathetic way.

One afternoon, when the fun had grown uproarious, I stepped on the porch in time to catch Benny Thompson sneaking behind the honeysuckle hedge with a bit of rock in his hand. I called out hurriedly:

"Willie! Have you a morning paper left?"

Willie quickened his pace and soon stood in the shelter of my doorway.

"I want two evening papers, too," I said, and then I added in a lower tone: "Why don't you chase those scalawags, Willie? You are lots bigger than they are."

Willie raised his heavy lids and gave me a flickering glance out of his weak blue eyes.

"Hit's too much trouble," he said, with a sigh, "and I hain't got time."

"But you owe it to yourself," I insisted. "You've no right to be mistreated."

He gave me a half-shy, half-foolish look. "Hit don't worrit me none, ma'am."

"But *why* doesn't it worry you, Willie?"

"I dunno, 'm. I'm jes' so used to bein' pestered, I reckon." He gave a little hiccough that was meant for a chuckle. "Maw, she says all the color's been washed outen me—that's why."

I looked at him again, very closely; at the scant, dust-colored hair, the pale eyes, the pasty complexion splotched with amber-colored freckles, and at the uncurved, magenta-tinged lips. And as I looked something gave way within me—something that before that moment I had been wholly unconscious of and would have denied stoutly to my inmost soul. It was an innate repugnance to Willie, the primitive, instinctive repugnance of the fit toward the unfit which makes the mother bird push the broken-winged birdling out of the nest to make room for those which will fly. In that flash of

self-revealment I understood the feeling that tempted Benny Thompson to sneak behind the hedge with a stone. I felt the scorch of shame on my face and the prick of tears in my eyes.

"Sit down, Willie," I said, laying my hand gently on his bony shoulder. "I want to talk to you. No, never mind your papers," as he cast a dubious glance at his bag. "I'll buy one every five minutes to pay for the time I take."

He squinted up at the sky a moment. "I got to git home by sundown to deliver maw's bread. She's got a right smart line of customers and they git mad at me if I don't deliver before nine o'clock."

"That's all right. I'll pay for the bread you lose, too." I caught hold of his bag and pulled him down on the step beside me. "How old are you, Willie?"

"Fifteen'm."

"Fifteen! You don't look twelve."

"No'm. My growth's been stunted."

"Indeed. And how did that happen?"

Then he told me, in his languid cracker dialect, how his father had contracted tuberculosis in a Georgia cotton mill and died when Willie was only five years old. At first his mother had taken him to the mill with her because there was nowhere else to leave him, but gradually his nimble fingers were pressed into daily service, and when he was eight—too young to replace the bobbins without climbing up on the machine—he was working twelve hours a day as doffer boy. Then the mother, thinking to better her condition and give her boy a chance to attend the mill school, married again. The man proved a drunken loafer who worked in the mill when it suited him, and bullied Willie and his mother into supporting him when it didn't suit him. A baby was born—dead—and afterwards, when the mother returned to the mill she found her speed had gone off. Another dead baby was born, and this time, when she returned to the mill, her back ached so intolerably she could scarcely stand on her feet, so she was discharged and Willie put in her place. Willie, in those days, was what he called "peart," and was able, through steady working, to double the $3 a week earned by his mother. Then a law was passed forbidding children under twelve years old to work in the mills. When Willie's stepfather learned of this law he got drunk and, after beating Willie and abusing his mother, disappeared, only to turn up again when he learned later on that they had been shipped to the fish canneries on the west coast of Florida.

At the canneries Willie and his mother, for a time, earned more than at the cotton mill, but the fish sheds were damp and unwholesome, and the living quarters so wretched and unsanitary that Willie, undoubtedly, con-

tracted hook-worm, and when the canneries closed on account of depletion of the oyster beds, the family shifted to Jacksonville, where the husband continued to loaf, and Willie sold newspapers.

It was a drab and commonplace enough picture Willie drew sitting there beside me on the steps—the shiftless, parasitical stepfather, the ignorant, heart-broken, health-broken mother, with another marasmic baby at her breast—and Willie, whose weary shoulders accepted the bread-winner's yoke with such gentle stolidity; Willie, with only one poor little chord in his sunless soul that life had been permitted to reach—his immature, unreasoning love for his mother.

His entire development had been confined to this primitive mother-and-child relationship. To him she was as simply and blindly the beginning and end of existence as if he still lay sleeping, unborn, under her heart. Once, when he had had a regular morning and evening route for his papers, which enabled him to peddle his bread in the noon hours, he had attended the Y. M. C. A. night school, but he would always fall asleep at his desk. Then he was dismissed from his regular routes by the newspapers because he made mistakes in his deliveries and permitted some of his customers to take advantage of his dulness to cheat in making their weekly payments. This was easily done, for all they needed to say was: "What! You here again, Willie? Why, I paid for this week in advance, don't you remember?" But Willie couldn't remember. A young doffer boy, who has had all of his plastic mental faculties bent upon the problem of putting an empty bobbin where a full one had been, has little use for the memory cells in his brain. They become atrophied from disuse. So, Willie finally was forced to buy his papers outright, and when he was cheated—well, he was just cheated.

When I asked him if he had no desire to go to school, the ghost of a dead hope flickered for a moment in his face—then went out.

"I useter want ter go till sometimes it'd jist *hurt*, right here," he said, laying his hand on his narrow chest, "but now—the older I grow the less I keer about sech things. I've sort o' lost my ambition, I reckon."

"But isn't there anything—anything in particular, Willie, that you would like above everything else to do?"

"Yes'm. Theer's Maw's baby—this last one. She seems sort o' set on raisin' hit. The pore little critter's jist clean skin and bone, but Maw thinks if she could git into the country where she could git milk warm from the cow, she could raise hit. She's got an uncle down State on a farm, and I'm tryin' to git money to send 'em theer."

"Yes, and that good-for-nothing husband of her's will be bound to follow her up and spoil everything. You and she will just have to stand together, Willie, and make him work steady or get out."

"Yes'm," said Willie, turning his weary eyes toward the west, where the sun glowed large and red through the trees. "The sun's most set. I must be gittin' home for that bread."

"But see here a moment, Willie." I drew a pencil from his breast pocket and tore off a margin from a newspaper. "You ought to go to a good doctor and have him examine you for hook-worm."

"Yes'm. Maw, she don't take no stock in doctors." He picked up his bag with an air of finality.

"But Willie,"—I plucked at his sleeve. "Here's the name of a good, kind one. Tell him I sent you. He'll understand, and he won't charge you anything. Tell your mother that, that he won't charge you and she's sure to let you go. Won't you, Willie? Will you promise?"

"Yes'm," said Willie. But as I watched him walk joltingly down the street, with his chin on his breast, I realized that what he said about himself was true. He had no ambition to pull himself out of the rut he was in. He was like a bit of elastic that has lain too long on a shelf and breaks at a pull, but never stretches.

All that night Willie's eyes haunted my dreams. They had such a terribly stagnant look—dead eyes, except for the weariness that sickened them. All the next day, too, the memory of the boy oppressed me, so that finally I sought council of the wisest and kindest man I knew. He is secretary of an organization that gives relief to the poor, one of a growing class that are defined loosely as Social Workers.

"You see, we must do something for Willie," I asserted, firmly, to him, after I had finished my story. While I had been talking he sat shuffling through some cards in a cabinet near his desk. Now he swung toward me in his chair.

"Yes," he said. "I find we have a record of that family. They have never appealed to us for aid. We heard of them and tried to help in a roundabout way, but the mother became suspicious of our efforts and barred us out. The story Willie told you was true, however."

"Of course it was. He hasn't enough ingenuity to tell a lie. I'd feel better about him if he did. He's just the type that everybody takes advantage of."

"Yes; it looks as if he'd been up against a skin game all his life," said the Secretary, drumming thoughtfully on his desk.

"Well," I put in after a long pause, "what are you going to do about it?"

"Nothing," he answered.

"*Nothing!*" I cried. "*You*, the friend of the poor?"

He smiled sadly at me. "I see you gauge my usefulness to society by my capacity to help Willie."

"But what is your organization *for*, then?" I demanded to know.

"What is the Red Cross Society *for*, in time of war?"

"Why, to help take care of the wounded, of course."

"Yes, and don't you suppose that while they are doing that their hearts are breaking over the fact that war exists? They know that at best they are only a necessary evil. When we stop to think we know that we, too, are only a necessary evil. Our success as social workers depends, I think, upon the fact that we are too busy most of the time to stop to think. Too busy, I mean, staunching the wounds in order to save what blood is left in the individual.

"Now, we'll take this case of Willie's for example. Tragedies such as his almost invariably go unrecorded. His class, or what is termed the Southern 'cracker' class, possess deep-rooted independence, coupled with an infinite capacity to bear. Society's mistreatment of them has taken a negative form which engenders dull suspicion rather than vigorous outbursts of passionate resentment. That is why our work here in the South is so terribly uphill. We find so little recoil from existing conditions among the people. There's no *fight* in them. If you should open the door of my inner office you would find it filled with wrecks, entire families gone utterly to smash before we could get even within hailing distance of them. I grow heart-sick, sometimes, dealing with wrecks, wrecks, *wrecks*, when what I need is motive power to drive a dredge deep enough to dig up the rocks that caused the wrecks. That is the real problem."

The Secretary's hands were clenched tight on his desk as he said this, and his passionate eyes were fixed upon a vision which I vaguely felt was far beyond me and my mission. And as I looked at him I felt myself grow a little impatient that he should sit there star-gazing while I was trying to hold poor Willie and his desperate need before his eyes. Presently I got up and said, rather crossly:

"You say you can do nothing for Willie, and I suppose you know your own business best; but *I* am going to do something for Willie. He wants to send his mother to a farm in the country. I am going to raise a little fund among my friends and send it to him anonymously."

"I see," said the Secretary, dully.

"But you don't really approve, do you?"

He raised tired eyes, in which the vision no longer glowed. "My dear friend, what shall I say to you? Willie is one of those wrecks I have just spoken of. As it happens, a wreck is much more stimulating to the human consciousness than the submerged rock that caused it. Chance threw Willie across your threshold and you are pained and excited at the sight. Now, if you wish me to prescribe for the pain in *you*, then by all means go out and

collect your fund for Willie; but if you wish me to prescribe for the pain in *Willie*, then collect your fund and turn it over to the agency that is seeking to dredge up the rock that wrecked Willie. It is called Child Labor. Do you see what I mean?"

"Yes, I see what you mean," I agreed reluctantly, for I hated to admit that Willie was a dead issue. "I'll let you know later on what I decide to do"—and I left the office.

* * * *

Now, dear reader, the proper conclusion to this story should be simply a few words telling of the great light that thenceforth flooded my path and sent me up and down the world, striving to dredge up the rock of Child Labor. What actually happened, however, was this:

When I reached home that afternoon I found my own precious child was broken out with measles. It was the first time, owing to my excellent care of her, that she had ever been ill, so that I was considerably upset and sent at once for the doctor. He advised, in view of the hot weather and the rather mild form of her attack, that I rent a cottage at the beach and spend the rest of the summer there. I took his advice and we were soon settled very pleasantly, with the surf pounding at our very door and the keen salt breeze whipping our blood and tanning our skins. My little girl's attack proved very slight indeed, and I was thankful to have escaped the discomfort of July and August in town. I thought of Willie, of course, but each day lessened the poignancy of his appeal, and the thought of dredging up a Child Labor rock in midsummer, all by myself, was too oppressive to dwell upon to any great extent. Besides, I wanted to enjoy myself, and I couldn't enjoy myself if I kept on morbidly thinking of Willie.

When I at last returned home to familiar paths, I found a strange boy crying papers on our street. He knew nothing of Willie. Conscience-stricken, I called up a reporter whom I knew on the *Times*.

"Oh, you mean Billiken," he answered, when I described the child. "No, I haven't seen him lately. The last I heard he'd borrowed some money from some of the boys down here to send his mother to the country. I guess he got tired trying to pay up and quit his job. Wait just a minute—here's one of the kids now. I'll ask him if he's heard anything from Willie."

There was a blurred murmur at the other end of the line for a moment, then a voice in my ear.

"Hello. Yes, I've found out about Willie. He's quit his job all right. The poor little chap is dead."

Now and again, in my dreams, Willie's eyes haunt me. They are still sick, faded and unutterably weary—*but they hold no reproach.*

The Wicked Child

GEORGE CREEL

It was one of those wretched scenes that excite mixed emotions of grief, despair and disgust. So hopeless, tragic and revolting! Slow tears scalded the weather-beaten face of the old grandfather; the gaunt, unlovely mother cried through her knotty, blunted fingers; Pamela's sobs seemed certain to tear her throat, and the Judge looked sick to death.

Unhappy little Pamela! Her widowed mother, working in a bakery, left the thing called home at five o'clock in the morning, not returning until seven in the evening. Yet even this exhausting toil, that robbed her of opportunity to tend and train the four children, had not proved sufficiently remunerative to keep the wolf from the door. As a consequence, the small Pamela was torn from the nest and put to work in a factory to gain the additional few dollars needed to span the gap between starvation and existence.

Even the best of establishments is not a safe place for girls still in the bud. There is the noon hour, with its dawdling about the streets and in hallways, the unrestrained gossip shared in by all ages and all sexes, and the long walk home through the quick dark of winter evenings. About Pamela were older girls less than guarded in their confidences, and half-grown boys cheated of the wholesome expression that play gives, and demoralized and degraded by daily contact with the coarsenesses of life. It was a foregone conclusion that these young-old sensualists should prove her undoing, soon wheedling her into surrender of that of which she had never been taught the preciousness. What they commenced vicious men continued, a box of candy, a dime for a throat ribbon, seeming fair return to the child in whom character had never had chance to build. At the time of detection, the thing had been going on for months, and the face that should have been as fresh and sweet as a morning-glory at the dawn was blotched, sallow and dropping in repulsive sags.

The arresting officials were certain of her "guilt." They did not hesitate to brand her as "depraved." Some of them had daughters of like age, safe in the home, wrapped in security and growing to the true strengths of womanhood under a mother's watchful eye, yet all of them seemed perfectly confident in the belief that the little drudge of a Pamela had been a free agent in working out her own damnation.

The grandfather had come from a Western State to help his daughter plead for little Pamela. Each new revelation of the child's "gross misconduct" made the miserable mother cry the more, but with every sob she tightened her arms about the girl, kissing her and petting her.

"Don't take her away from me, Judge." Out of her very wretchedness, the poor, shrinking creature gained courage to appeal to the Law—the Law that permitted the baker to demand ten hours a day of her time, and which stood idly by while Pamela was dragged from the home, from the school, from safety itself, and thrown into contact with vicious influences against which her youth and her ignorance possessed no safeguards.

"For the love of God, let me keep my child. I'll be a better mother after this." The Judge winced at the pathos of it. "I'll promise you that it will never happen again. It's my fault, Judge. Pamela's a good girl. Just a baby, Judge, that's all she is. She needs me now more than ever. You can see that for yourself, can't you? Now's the time when she wants her mother." She smoothed back the hair from Pamela's tear-wet face and held her closer. "Don't cry, honey lamb," she whispered. "Mama knows. Mama understands." Again her hoarse, broken voice assailed the ears of the Judge. "You are not going to take her away from me, are you? Punish me, Judge, but don't hurt Pamela. I've neglected her, that's all. I haven't been a good mother."

Ten hours a day in the burning heat of a bakery that her children might have food and shelter and clothes. And not a good mother! Surely God will know some of His angels by their lies.

"They're all I've got, Judge. Just my babies, that's all. Pa's come back here to help me. You've heard him say so. Just give us a chance. My little Pamela! My baby! My girl!"

She could not see that Pamela had been taken away already. Society did that when it permitted the child to be thrown into the whirlpool of industry at fourteen, an age when she most needed watchful care and incessant training. Pamela, as a matter of course, had to be sent to an institution, for she had reached a stage of moral disintegration where restraint was necessary. The mother, though she yearned until her heart burst, though her tender love took all blame unto itself, could not blot out the cancerous horror that had taken hold on the child. So they carried Pamela away, to an accompaniment of sobs and screams that left the courtroom sick and shaken. She was stained black with what the world calls "sin," but every stain called to the fond lips of the loving, anguished mother.

All the daily papers carried an account of the "case." One staid journal even went so far as to make it the basis for a ringing editorial on the "growing lack of proper home training." As it so happened, the same issue also contained a very vigorous letter from a certain prominent local employer of labor. The particular thing that stirred him to communication was "the paternalistic and pauperizing trend of legislation," and in unsparing fashion

he attacked the agitation for child labor laws as "destructive of the formation of the habit of industry."

There is not a juvenile court in the land that does not ring daily to the sobs of little Pamelas, to the cries of wretched mothers. It is well enough to put emphasis upon the fact that the wage-earning child is trading health, strength and hope of healthy children for the pittance that she earns, but let it not be forgotten that there is another and more terrible danger, and that the society which prepares this gauntlet for its little ones is, in the day of their ruin, an accessory before the fact.

The theory of innate depravity is proved at last to be a lie. Environment is all-powerful to make or break. In this time of gladness, when the birth of a Child swells the throat of the world with song, may it not be remembered that in every child there is a spark of divinity that can be fanned to flame or extinguished outright.

"Bargains"

MIRIAM TEICHNER

I wonder—who was the girl who sewed
  The handsome bargain waist I bought?
'Twas wondrous cheap. Why, the clerk who showed
  And sold it me said that months had brought
No bargain like it. The thing enticed,
  And I took it gladly, but now occur
Strange thoughts of the girl who sewed. Low-priced,
  But—what was the cost to her?

I wonder—what of the girl who twined
  These bright-hued silken blooms I found
To trim my hat. They're a splendid find,
  And I'm smartly hatted as well as gowned.
I don't see how they can sell them so,
  But—queer, the fancies that wake and stir,
The girl who made them to sell so low—
  Just what was the cost to her?

I wonder—what of the girl who strained
  Her eyes o'er the white embroidered things
I bought today? One piece was stained
  With a drop of blood. Ah, this season brings
Such tempting sales. Why they almost give
  The goods away. But the thoughts recur:
The girl who made them—how does she live,
  And—what was the cost to her?

Oh, lovely, feminine, luring wear
  That the brilliant counters spread for sale,
You're really cheap; you are fine and fair,
  Your price is right and we do not fail
To buy. But what of the girl who works
  In the gloom and the grime and the great wheels' whirr?
The fear is there and it lurks and lurks—
  Just what was the cost to her?

Some Working People

MARY ALDEN HOPKINS

The following incidents have been told me during the past few weeks by various women whose work takes them among the very poor people in New York City. I offer them to point no particular moral. They have interested me; perhaps they will interest others.

Loretta is an Italian four-year-old. She is a charming atom, with black eyes much too large for her face. Her head is topped with a huge red hair-ribbon. When the ribbon slips off she trots confidingly to the nearest grown-up, holds out the bow, tips her head for it to be tied on, and stands mutely waiting assistance. Loretta's business is to sit in a high chair and pull the packed violet petals apart. Her mother makes the flowers.

Loretta took her vacation at a fresh-air home. The first morning she came quietly up to the nurse and breathed a soft request:

"Violets? Violets for Loretta?"

"Yes, you darling," responded the nurse, heartily, "the precious shall have violets! We'll go out in the meadow this minute to gather them!"

The adults smiled at each other, saying, "Isn't it sweet of the little love to want violets the very first thing!" Everybody went with Loretta to the meadow to enjoy her delight. But when they came to the violet bed, deep purple blossoms hiding in green grass, Loretta turned in bewilderment to the nurse.

"Violets?" she breathed. "Loretta's violets?"

It was her work for which she was asking, the little scraps of purple cloth that she pulled apart, sitting in her high chair. Loretta, like our tired business men, has never learned to play.

Rosie is a little Jewish girl, not over-attractive, and, up to a month ago, considered incorrigible. She played hooky from school to sell gum on the steps of the elevated. When moral suasion failed, Rosie was arrested, brought before the Children's Court and sentenced to school. Soon she was back on the hook. Again she was arrested for truancy. This time it occurred to some one that maybe something was wrong with her, and she was taken to a doctor. The doctor found she was blind.

Oh, a modicum of sight; enough to trade in gum with vague shapes that

held out pennies, but no more. Now she's in a blind class and finds school life somewhat less of a bore. The street loses one penny trader.

Solomon Levinsky fled from Russia after one of those practical demonstrations of the superiority of Christians over Jews in the art of murder. He was very lucky in getting his entire family safely to New York. He was a quaint figure, in his ill-fitting frock coat, his derby resting on his ears, and his flowing beard. He knew a great deal of Hebrew and nothing much else. So he set up a pushcart.

By the time winter came his two little boys were selling papers on the street. They were small and puny enough to make good sellers. The more obviously unfitted for street-trading a boy is, the more customers he gets.

One cold, raw morning, when rain drizzled down into two inches of slush, the district nurse found the father bathing the boys' feet after they had come in from paper selling, before they went to school. The children were resting. One of them had fallen asleep in his chair. Their wet stockings and shoes were in front of the stove. One of the shoes had no sole at all; it was just a top with a heel.

The father knelt in front of the children bathing the red, chapped, dirty feet with warm water from a great brass *schussel*. He had taken off his coat but he was wearing his derby hat pushed onto the back of his head. Two black locks of hair were trained down in front of his ears to meet his beard. As he knelt before his children, bathing their sore feet, the tears ran down his face and he sobbed shamelessly and monotonously.

After he had cleaned and warmed and dried the four little feet, he again drew on the wet stockings and shoes. He woke the little sleeper and the two children went off to school.

A little chap was carrying two huge basted overcoats across his shoulder. He bent over so as to support their weight partly on his back. He looked like a funny, tiny old man, in his blue overalls and worn cap.

He was crying and sobbing, "Mama! Mama!" His mother was not about, but he was so little that when he cried he just naturally said "Mama."

The district nurse saw him from across the street and started over to help him carry the ulsters. But the little chap had heard of inspectors. They are people who come and take the work away from you. You must never, never let them catch you. You must hide from them under the bed or say that you don't live where you do and tell a wrong name. You are not safe from them until you are fourteen years old.

When the little chap saw the lady in a uniform coming toward him, he was so frightened that he stopped crying. He tried to run, but the overcoats were too heavy. He did not know which way to go. If he went home she would follow him. He made little futile dashes in one direction and then another. He trembled so that he could hardly stand. His terror-stricken face was quite horrible to see.

The nurse in kindness turned and walked away from him. Then the little chap hurried homeward in spasmodic, breathless rushes, half-turned to watch her, lest she steal up and catch him unawares.

For Mikey

ELEANOR H. PORTER

It all happened because Sophie was ambitious—not for herself, but for Mikey.

Just where Sophie and Baby Mikey came from nobody seemed to know, and certainly ten-year-old Sophie herself could not tell. Behind her lay shadowy memories of a gentle, white-faced being who was "mother," and of days filled with dolls and flowers instead of berries to pick and oysters to shuck; days when she was never hungry, never tired, just happy—she and Little Brother.

But that was long ago. Something happened—she could not remember just what. She and Baby Mikey lived now with the Simpskys. There was no "mother" any longer. There was Mrs. Simpsky and she had six children; but she was not a "mother"—as Sophie knew mothers. Mothers do not swear and pull your hair when your back aches so you aren't right smart at shucking, nor scold because Little Brother takes so long to grow up "so's to be worth his salt."

Then there was the Padrone—the Boss. "Old Max," Mr. Simpsky called him. Summers Old Max took them all into the big fruit fields and set them to picking berries. At first it had not been so bad. Sophie even liked it, and Baby Mikey had crowed with glee. But very soon Baby Mikey was crying with the heat that beat down so unmercifully, and with the flies and mosquitoes that buzzed and bit and stung, in spite of Sister Sophie's frantic efforts to keep them away with one hand, while she picked berries with the other—for, of course, whatever she did, she must pick the berries. Mrs. Simpsky had told her that. Also she must take care of Little Brother. Her mother had told her that, in the dear long ago. Whatever else she forgot, she could not forget that. Besides, as if she did not love Little Brother better than anything else in the world—and love best to care for him, too, if only it had not been for those quarts and quarts of berries that must be picked.

And how tired she got—day in and day out under the fiercely burning sun! How her feet and her back ached! And how queer it was that the longer she worked the littler and littler grew the berries and the bigger and bigger grew her stiff, sun-blistered fingers, until she could scarcely pick the fruit at all!

Hard and dreary as was the berry-picking, however, it was infinitely to

be preferred, in Sophie's opinion, to the oyster-shucking down on the coast. How Sophie dreaded that!

Along in October for three years now Old Max had bundled them all into hot, stuffy cars, there to ride for hours and hours and miles and miles—which, indeed, would have been delightful if only there had not been so many men, women and children that wanted the samc seat and the same air to breathe.

At their journey's end there were always the same things awaiting them—long, tumble-down shacks to sleep in nights, eight to a room; huge, drafty sheds to work in days, prying oysters out of sharp, dirty shells. Always, too, there were the mosquitoes and sand-flies to bite and sting, and the horrid smell from the marsh when the tide went out.

And there was the screeching whistle that *seemed* to blow the minute they got into bed, though it really did not blow, of course, till half-past two in the morning. Then came the wild scramble to get herself and Little Brother dressed, all in the dark, and the gulping down of something to drink, and the snatching of a couple of pieces of bread to eat on the way; for at three they must be at the cannery ready to work, else the Padrone would come after them—and it was not pleasant to have the Padrone come after you, as Sophie knew by grievous experience.

For that matter, nothing was pleasant about shucking oysters, in Sophie's opinion. Even after you learned to be real skilful with the knife, the shells cut your fingers and made them bleed—until they got calloused, of course. And for a while you were so sleepy, and after that you were so tired, that nothing else seemed to count much. You just kept going.

To Sophie, indeed, it seemed as if always it was to "just keep going," whether it was stumbling over the shell-piles at three o'clock in the morning, or stumbling home again after a long day's work, dragging Baby Mikey behind her.

To be sure, some days she could shuck six pots—if Little Brother wasn't too active or too fretful. If she could keep him asleep snuggled up against a warm steam box she was content. But she was anything but that when he was trotting about the shed, clambering over the dangerous shell-piles, or running out on to the dock, where the boats came in to unload, and where was that yawning abyss of black water waiting to engulf forever little, unwary feet. Always then she was running here and there with frantic calls of "Mikey, Mikey, where are you?" And that was not shucking oysters, as she found out to her sorrow when the end of the day brought her but the pay for three pots shucked—and a scolding from the Padrone and Mrs. Simpsky.

Mrs. Simpsky said it was all Mikey's fault. She said, also, that he was

getting to be a big boy now, anyway, and ought to be put to work himself. And very soon after that, in spite of Sophie's protests, Mrs. Simpsky thrust a knife and an oyster into his tiny hands and said:

"Ho, you can't open it—I'll bet ye can't open it!" Which was the surest way to *make* him open it, as every one knew—who knew Mikey!

Mikey was six now, and this year he was working nearly every day. Perched on a box to make him tall enough to reach his work, he was putting in hour after hour, until he dropped from sheer weariness. To be sure, he was only "helpin'," and the few cents his tiny little cut fingers earned went on to Mrs. Simpsky's pay check—to avoid any embarrassing questions that might be asked by prying outsiders who chanced to notice his extreme youth.

Sophie cried and pleaded, but in vain. She even begged to be allowed to work, herself, all night, if only Mikey might be left to his naps and play; but Mrs. Simpsky was not to be coaxed. Mikey was old enough and big enough to work—and work he must.

Then one day the catch was shrimp, and they put him on that. Sophie thought, then, that her heart was indeed broken, for bad as oyster-shucking was, shrimp-picking was worse, as she knew. True, the hours were shorter—they had to be; for so chilled and numb and raw did one's fingers become that they gave out very soon in spite of the alum Mrs. Simpsky rubbed into them to make them hard. For the shrimp were icy cold, and there was a terrible something about them that ate into one's fingers, and even into one's shoes on the floor. No wonder, indeed, that Sophie was nearly frantic when Mikey was set to picking shrimp!

After all, it was the shrimp that stirred Sophie into determined action; it was the shrimp that crystallized into definite plans the vague ambitions for Mikey that had for so long haunted her soul. For herself, things were hopeless, of course. Sophie had long since conceded that. But for Mikey—!

First, Mikey must go to school. Without learning, he would be doomed always to oyster-shucking and shrimp-picking. But with learning—why, with learning he might become anything. He might even get to be a Boss!

But how was he to get this learning? There were schools, she knew. She had even attended one herself for a few months. But she had not learned much. She had been too tired—for, of course, she must keep up her work also, Mrs. Simpsky had said; and when one works four hours before school in the morning and four hours after school in the afternoon shucking oysters, one can't seem to learn very fast which letter comes first and which last—when there are such a lot of them, too, and such a lot of words! But after a while she had felt too sick to go to school, so she had had to give it up; though she had still tried to read and write by practising all by herself—for Mikey's sake.

M M
GRIMBALL

Schools were not for poor folks like them, Mrs. Simpsky said, anyway. They were for the rich folks that rode in automobiles. Always, after that, Sophie had especially envied the occupants of every automobile that she saw, particularly if there were children among them. *They* could go to school, while Mikey—

It was this speech of Mrs. Simpsky's that gave Sophie her wonderful idea. If only, by hook or by crook, she could some day get Mikey smuggled into an automobile with other little boys and girls, he, with them, might go to school. Then, afterward, when he had become a big and wonderful and learned man, he could come back to her and be a Boss. And how proud she would be of him then!

It was a pretty picture and a fascinating one. Sophie was soon lulling herself to sleep nights thinking of it. True, between Mikey, the little boy, and Mikey, the Boss, there lay long years—years that of necessity must be full of loneliness and emptiness for her, with no Mikey. But Sophie refused to let her mind dwell on that. She forced it to dwell, rather, on the thought that if Mikey were with her he would be shucking oysters or picking shrimp, while if he were gone he would be getting the wonderful learning that would one day make him the Boss.

Confident as to results, Sophie was still uncertain as to methods of procedure, however. Automobiles were not plentiful on the horizon of her daily existence, and the few that did appear gave her no opportunity whatever to carry out her plans. That she must smuggle Mikey into the automobile secretly she knew very well. To introduce him openly and beg for him a place was too risky to be thought of for a moment. She must trust to his being found afterward when it was too late to return him. She thought, too, there ought to be a letter of explanation to go with him. She must manage that herself, somehow. She could print something, perhaps. Certainly, there was no one she dared to ask to write that letter for her.

Convinced of this, and convinced, also, that she should be ready for any emergency, Sophie lost no time in collecting her materials and going to work. In due course she was the proud possessor of a carefully trimmed square of brown paper on which was printed the following:

"DEER LADY. THIS IS MIKY MY BROTHUR. DONT BLAME HIM. I DID IT. ITS ALL MY BLAME. HE IS A GOOD BOY AND WONT BE ENY BOTHUR. PLEZE LET HIM GO TO SKOL AND GET LERNIN ALONG WITH YUER LITTUL BOYS AND GIRLS SO HE KAN BE A BOS AND WONT HAVE TO WORK SO WITH HIS HANDS WHAT HURT AND KAN SLEPE AND PLAY SUM NOW AS LITTUL BOYS LIKE HIM ORTER. IT WONT KOST MUTCH TO KEEP HIM CAUSE HE AINT USTER EETIN MUTCH. BUT PLEZE PLEZE BE GOOD TO HIM. HES ALL I GOT AND I GOT TO GIVE HIM TO YOU. GOOD BY. YUER FREND SOPHIE."

The letter written, Sophie always carried it with her, wherever she went, for there was never any telling, of course, when her chance to use it would come.

Days and weeks and months passed, however, and Sophie had begun to fear that she would never use it—when one day the chance came. They were back in the berry fields now, and it was when she was working near the main highway one warm July morning that she saw the big automobile come to a puffing stop. The next moment the man at the wheel was out of the car and bending over something in front, with his head far down. The woman, too, on the front seat, leaned forward, intent on what the man was doing. Behind them was an empty seat. Sophie saw this, and knew that now, if ever, was the time for her to act. Nor did she hesitate. Weeks of planning for this very moment made her movements prompt and decided now that the moment had come.

Catching Mikey by the hand she hurried him along to the fence and helped him through to the roadway on the other side. Fortunately some friendly shrubs hid them and the car from the sight of their fellow workers.

"Mikey, now listen," she panted. "It's come—our chance. Now remember! I've told ye lots of times what ter do. Git down on the floor out o' sight. An' don't ye speak nor even *breathe* till they find ye—then give 'em the letter. Here 'tis. Now s-h-h!" she finished, thrusting the worn little brown paper note into his hands, and creeping stealthily along toward the back of the car from behind.

Mikey, wild-eyed and plainly frightened, began to whimper and hang back.

"No—no! I'd ruther stay with you! I'd ruther stay with you!" he whispered, hoarsely.

Sophie tightened her grip on his hand and gulped back a sob; but she forced her lips into a gay smile.

"Shucks, Mikey! Ye don't know what yer a-talkin' 'bout," she whispered back. "Think of the learnin' yer goin' ter have, and the big man yer a-goin' ter be! Do ye want ter go down ter pick shrimps next winter, and the next winter, and furever and furever?"

"No-o," choked Mikey.

"Then do as I say, an' yer won't. Come—quick!" Sophie's own hands were shaking and her own eyes were threatening to overflow. She knew she had not a moment to lose if she would avoid a breakdown herself.

Just how it was done Sophie never knew; but at last Mikey was safely inside the car and she herself was back in the bushes, palpitatingly watching. Three minutes later the man was in his old place at the wheel and the car was off.

Until it was a mere speck in the distance, Sophie watched it through streaming eyes. Then, with a little sob, she flung herself on the ground. Suddenly it had come to her how empty, empty now were her hands and her heart.

"Oh, Mikey, Mikey, come back. I wish't I hadn't 'a' done it. I wish't I hadn't 'a' done it! I know I'm just a-goin' ter die without ye, Mikey—Mikey!"

Meanwhile, far down the road, chugging along in their touring car, were Mr. and Mrs. Horace Fairweather, quite unaware that crouching in the bottom of the tonneau behind them was a frightened little curly-haired boy. As they slowed up almost to a stop, however, for a passing load of hay, a half-stifled sob caused Mrs. Fairweather to look behind her. She screamed and clutched her husband's arm.

"Horace, quick! Stop the car! There's something—on the floor—in back," she panted. "Why, Horace, it's a child!" she gasped a minute later, as her husband pulled the sobbing little boy to his feet.

"Well, sir, where did you come from?" questioned the man, sharply. Mr. Horace Fairweather plainly was not pleased with his new passenger.

There was no answer, save a convulsive intaking of the breath.

"Come, come, little boy, what is your name?"

"Mikey."

"Mikey, indeed! Well, how came you in my car?"

Mikey gulped again.

"Sophie, she put me here. I—I wants Sophie!"

"Who's Sophie?"

"My s-sister. I wants Sophie!"

"Humph! Well, we'll see if we can't find this precious Sophie—and incidentally give her a piece of our mind. Where is she?"

The boy shook his head dumbly.

"Come, come, where were you when she put you in my car?" prompted the man, irritably.

Still the boy was silent, but he pointed backward, with sobbing little breaths.

"Humph! Of course! I needn't have asked," muttered the man. "Well, we'll go back and find Sophie."

But just here, unexpectedly, Mikey gave a wailing cry and shook his head. Obviously, some sort of struggle was going on within him; and it was with very evident reluctance that he dragged his right hand forth from its hiding-place and held out a crumpled, moist little fold of brown paper.

"Sophie, she'll be mad. She wanted me to give you this," he sobbed.

The man took it gingerly, but, after a moment of scowling scrutiny, he passed it to his wife.

"Great Scott! I can't read the stuff. What is it?" he snapped.

Still more gingerly his wife took the paper in her daintily gloved hand. Then aloud she read the words Sophie had laboriously scrawled:

"'DEER LADY. THIS IS MIKY MY BROTHUR. DONT BLAME HIM. I DID IT. ITS ALL MY BLAME. HE IS A GOOD BOY AND WONT BE ENY BOTHUR. PLEZE LET HIM GO TO SKOL AND GET LERNIN ALONG WITH YUER LITTUL BOYS AND GIRLS SO HE KAN BE A BOS AND WONT HAVE TO WORK SO WITH HIS HANDS WHAT HURT AND KAN SLEPE AND PLAY SUM NOW AS LITTLE BOYS LIKE HIM ORTER. IT WONT COST MUTCH TO KEEP HIM CAUSE HE AINT USTER EETIN MUTCH. BUT PLEZE PLEZE BE GOOD TO HIM. HES ALL I GOT AND I GOT TO GIVE HIM TO YOU. GOOD BY. YUER FREND SOPHIE.'"

"Well, by Jove!" breathed Mr. Horace Fairweather, and his voice was not quite steady. His eyes, too, showed a sudden tenderness, not often seen there. He was hearing again the words his wife had just read: "With your own little boys and girls"—and in his heart was a great emptiness; in Horace Fairweather's home there were no little boys and girls.

He glanced at his wife. Her face was white and horror-stricken. Her eyes were going back and forth from Mikey to the note in her hand.

"Horace, how terrible! Why, what—shall—we do?" she gasped.

Suddenly, on the spur of the moment, the man uttered the first wild thought that came into his head; at the same time he laughed to hide his embarrassment.

"Well, of course—we could—keep him."

"Oh, Horace!" shuddered the woman. "How *can* you!" And she shuddered again.

In Mrs. Fairweather's heart, too, was a great emptiness; but the longed-for children in her vision were clean-faced and happy-eyed, and were clothed in velvet suits and filmy frocks. Never had they borne the slightest resemblance to this dirty-faced, forlorn little specimen of patched-up humanity before her.

"Very well, then, there's nothing to do but to take him back," shrugged the man, "and you'd better get out and sit in here with him, so he can point out to you where he was when his sister put him into the car," he added. "Of course I'll drive slowly."

On the back seat Mikey welcomed with flattering joy "the pretty lady." Mikey had been frightened and lonesome. He was neither now. Moreover, he was going back to Sophie. So, close to the pretty lady he snuggled confidingly, reaching out his thin, work-scarred little hand for her to hold.

And all the way he talked blithely of Sophie, the dear sister who was so good to him.

Beside him the pretty lady sat silent, strangely moved. In her vision still were those longed-for children. But she was not seeing now the Fauntleroy suits and frilly muslins. She was seeing, curiously enough, the wide blue eyes and curly head of a boy much like Mikey at her side—a boy who was not "used to eating much."

It was not long before they came upon Sophie. She was still sobbing, prone on her face in the tall grass by the roadside. But, at Mikey's glad shout as he ran to her side, she sprang to her feet with a quick cry of mingled rapture and dismay.

"Mikey, you darling! You naughty boy, what are you back here for?" she exclaimed, hugging him and shaking him both at once.

Mrs. Fairweather, white-faced and trembling, stepped from the car and touched Sophie on the shoulder.

"Tell me, child, why—why did you send him away—like this?" she faltered.

And Sophie told her.

It was a long story. It had to do with all the years since "mother" went away and with mother's command to take good care of Little Brother. It had to do with Mrs. Simpsky, who pulled hair, and the Boss, who swore, as well as with the dreary hours of shrimp-picking and oyster-shucking when one was so sleepy and tired. It had to do with her longing to get for Mikey the "learnin'," so that he might be a big man some day, maybe even a Boss; and it had to do with her own broken-hearted loneliness now, when she had realized that Mikey had really gone.

It was, indeed, a lengthy story; but long before it was finished, Mrs. Fairweather's eyes were wet, and her lips were trembling. What Mr. Fairweather was doing could not be seen, for his back was turned, and his face was turned quite away. But he was listening. He was very plainly listening. And when the story was done he turned sharply at the sobbing cry from his wife.

"Horace, Horace, why don't you say something? Why don't you do something?" she demanded. "Why, I never supposed there could be such awful things allowed. Think of it—those babies working like that! And at three o'clock in the morning! Can't you do anything? Can't anybody do anything?"

"Why, my dear, I think there must be laws," began the man; but his wife interrupted with an impatient gesture.

"Laws! Then why don't you enforce them? And if there aren't any laws, why don't you make new ones? Oh, you men! Who was it that just

last night was reading to me about the money spent to protect your old fish and game from being killed too fast? And yet you let these children—it's just as if we thought more of our oysters than we do of our babies!" she choked. "Now, come; come with me," she cried, reaching out a hand apiece to the wondering Sophie and Mikey.

"But, dearie, what—what are you going—to do?" ventured the man.

"Do? I'm going to take these blessed babies home with me, of course! They're going to be my babies. Do you think I'd let them go back to that wretched life, even for one minute? You can see that Simpsky woman and do whatever is necessary, of course, tomorrow, or next week, or *never*. I don't care. But *now* I'm going to take these children home and put them to bed. And they're not going to get up tomorrow morning till noon, if they don't want to. Three o'clock, indeed!" she shuddered.

"Good! I'm agreed!" laughed the man. But neither the laugh nor the light words quite hid the shake that was in Horace Fairweather's voice nor the joyous content that had leaped to Horace Fairweather's eyes.

"But there's those others—all those others like them," moaned his wife. "*Can't* you do something for them?" she begged, tremulously.

"Well, we'll—try," promised Horace Fairweather, lifting his chin a little. "I reckon, after all, they're worth as much as—oysters!"

Ahmed, the American

HELEN C. DWIGHT

Like a tall, white screen hiding the packed city behind it, lower New York jutted out against a clear autumn sky. On the ferryboat from Jersey, Ayesha, wife of Ali, the machinist, stared at the tall, white screen and murmured in her thick English, "Ees bee-uti-ful!"

"Bee-uti-fu'," echoed baby Ali at her feet, his forehead pressed against the lower bars of the boat-rail.

But Ahmed, the son of the house, fourteen and solemn-eyed, looked straight ahead of him, apparently ignoring his mother's ecstasy. He was looking at the tall, white screen too, but he was not thinking of its beauty. He was thinking that the city was his; that he had come into man's estate; that for him school and lessons and childish things were over, and that under the shadow of the tall, white screen he would soon be going to work with the best of them. He did not think it in those terms. If you had asked him what he was thinking, he would have scuffed his feet and said he didn't know. But those were the things that were dimly in his mind, and that was why he ignored his mother's remark, and why, possibly, he was so solemn-eyed.

Ali, the machinist, once of Syria, had lived in New York seven years, and at the end of the seventh year had gone with his family into New Jersey to "take a job" in a factory. One month after he took the job there had been an accident and he had quietly died. Now Ayesha, still dazed by her husband's death, was going back to New York with the children to live with her brother. And Ahmed, in the strength of his fourteen years, was going to work. His uncle had said it was the best thing to do. His uncle had said, too, that according to the American law Ahmed could work—only papers were necessary to show that he was fourteen and that he had been to school long enough to be an American. Those papers would be provided. There was nothing to be done but to produce Ahmed and let the authorities see that he was well. "For Amer-i-cans," said the uncle, "cannot work if they are seeck."

"Ah, my little Ahmed," sighed Ayesha then, "you are not so strong, but you are not seeck. Keep you well—and may the work not make you seeck!"

So Ahmed was facing the city and work. He was not afraid. He knew the city—for had he not gone to school there six years? There was nothing to fear. He was an American.

With his uncle, his mother and the baby, he went through the process of

getting his working papers. His birth certificate had been received after a long correspondence with the American consul in Beirut. It was clearly established that he was fourteen. His schooling certificate, too, was obtained, and that very easily, for he had been a regular attendant at school for his six years, because of his ambition to be American, and was ready for grade 7A—that is, he had exactly fulfilled the New York schooling requirements. His physical examination remained, and to this the entire family accompanied him, his mother urging him to keep strong and not "get seeck."

He had never been very strong. Possibly that was another reason he was so solemn-eyed. But he had never been a sickly child, and so he had no misgivings when the doctor and the nurse began the weighing, measuring and testing process. The New York Bureau of Child Hygiene has found that the normal child of fourteen should weigh eighty pounds, and eighty pounds the candidates for work permits must weigh. Ahmed weighed seventy-seven. There was a great shaking of heads and Ahmed began to wish that, like his friend Ikey Simonstein, he had worn packages of BB shot in his pockets when he came to this ordeal. But, then, Ikey had been found out and the BB shot unfeelingly removed, and Ikey had weighed only seventy-five. So Ahmed took the situation philosophically.

The doctor put strange things on his chest and listened through two tubes, like a telephone operator. Ahmed was made to breathe deep. The doctor listened from the front and listened from the back. She thumped him gently up and down the back. She took his pulse. She did a thousand and one seemingly unnecessary things and asked him many absurd questions, such as if he ever had a cough. Had he not had a cough all last winter? Finally she said to the nurse, "Incipient tuberculosis, I'm afraid. We'll have to see his parents."

The uncle and Ayesha and the baby were summoned from their bench in the outer room. The doctor explained to them carefully that Ahmed was indeed "seeck" and would be dangerously "seeck" if he went to work. Therefore he could not work. At this point Ayesha wailed aloud and the uncle called on Allah to witness this oppression of the poor. Ayesha clasped the solemn-eyed Ahmed to her and cried, "Oh, say not he is seeck—say not he will have the white death! He is my little boy. He is not so strong, but he is not seeck!"

The doctor then went through further explanations. She made it very clear to Ayesha, that only through care, with the help of the city's doctors, could Ahmed be saved from the white death. He needed good food and plenty of air. Perhaps the city would send him on an outing to a place they provided. Then in a year, if he had grown stronger, he could go to work—at some healthy job. At first Ayesha wept, but finally the doctor's

logic prevailed. Suddenly, as if a great light broke over her, Ayesha's face cleared. She kissed the doctor's hand, in gratitude, saying, "Ah, lady, if you will save my little Ahmed!"

With assurances that Ahmed would be saved, the family was sent away. They walked home, Ahmed beside his uncle, who still called on Allah in muttered ejaculations, and Ayesha behind with the baby. She explained to the baby over and over again what it all meant.

"It is because he is Amer-i-can, my little one," she said, "that they save him. He has been to the e-school, and he is Amer-i-can, and it is written that the seeck Amer-i-cans they save. They may not get the white death when they are young, and when they are old, if they are seeck, they take them to the 'os-pi-tal. Your father, little son, was not Amer-i-can, and him they could not save from the beeg machine. But Ahmed—*he* is Amer-i-can, and *him* they save. And you, little light-of-my-eyes, *you* shall go to the e-school, and *you* shall be Amer-i-can—and *you*, too, they will save!"

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Number Four

FEBRUARY, 1915

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National Child Labor Committee

INCORPORATED

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Prepared to Accompany the Twenty-five Panel
Exhibit at the Exposition in San Francisco

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The Child Labor Bulletin

FEBRUARY, 1915

This issue of the CHILD LABOR BULLETIN is designed for use. It aims to carry to the members of the Committee and to its friends so clear a sense of its widespread activities as to inspire them to fuller cooperation with the staff and with each other. There is nothing, we believe, in this BULLETIN that is not of current interest and that does not reflect the vital nature of the child labor problem. "What The Government Says About Cotton Mills" on page 20, bears on the present campaigns in the Carolinas besides being an answer to the complaint of a North Carolina textile editor at the recent conference that conditions in Southern cotton mills have been wilfully exaggerated by the Committee. The report of a New York homework investigator deals with a problem always pressing but never yet satisfactorily solved. The Wilkesbarre study of girls 14 to 16 in industry not only throws sidelights on industrial education but shows also that it is quite possible for the volunteer worker to become thoroughly conversant with local conditions. The exhibit handbook is of obvious value. None of these articles, however, conveys any real idea of the multiplicity and vitality of the Committee's interests. The following brief account of its work at present will serve as a reminder to us all that there is need for the help of each one of us.

CONFERENCE

The proceedings of the eleventh annual conference on child labor, held at Washington, January 5 and 6, will be published in the May number of the BULLETIN but some mention of it must be made here since it had an immediate effect on the work of the Committee. The most spectacular event of the meetings, which were well attended, 24 states being represented by 218 delegates, was probably the appearance at his own request of the North Carolina textile editor mentioned above, Mr. Clark, who charged in apparent sincerity that the Committee has not only wronged the South by exaggeration and mis-statement, but maintains a "busy-body" attitude toward conditions that are none of its affairs. This attack served to bring forth clear statements of the Committee's position

by Mrs. Kelley and members of the staff. But, after all, in spite of the publicity given it by the press, this controversy was of much less significance than the constructive proposals acted upon during the conference. Resolutions were passed asking the United States Bureau of Education to publish current facts as to illiteracy because the Census figures on the subject are never available until they are too old to be of definite value. The necessity for collecting information on all existing and proposed laws relating to children was brought out by the discussion of a national Children's Charter in which representatives of a number of children's societies took part.

Palmer-Owen Bill

The federal child labor bill was naturally the main topic for discussion. We gained distinct encouragement from the predictions of the Congressmen who addressed the meetings. The spirit of their addresses was embodied in Senator Kenyon's statement that the bill would pass this Congress if the people would only let Congress know they wanted it passed. Before the conference, notices of Child Labor Sunday, January 24, had been sent out urging consideration of the Palmer-Owen bill on that day. Pamphlets on the bill for use in preparing Child Labor Day addresses were sent in response to requests from 6,279 individuals in 48 states and the District of Columbia. But in view of the statements of Congressmen at the conference it seemed worth while to spread interest in the bill even further by an appeal to our members for immediate action. A letter and reply postcard were sent out the week after the conference, to which we have had up to this time about 800 responses. Partly as a result of these responses, partly because of the discussion of the bill on Child Labor Day, and partly because of the press notices dispatched from the New York offices to 1,250 newspapers, the measure has been widely discussed in the papers throughout the country. Public opinion seems to favor the bill. With Senator Kenyon we believe that Congress will react to the will of the people, and so we are still working for the general expression of the public will that must be made through individuals and organizations alike if Congress is to pass the Palmer-Owen bill before adjourning in March.

State Campaigns

Besides the federal bill the Committee is pushing improved child labor laws in the legislatures of 16 states scattered from Maine to Texas and Idaho. Mr. Bremer is in West Virginia and Mr. Jones in Alabama for two of the most critical campaigns of the year. In West Virginia, in the face of opposition from the glass interests, the State and National Child Labor Committees are urging the prohibition of night work for children under 16, the 8-hour day for children under 16, and the extension of the 14-year limit to include all ordinary occupations. In Alabama the fight is for the 14-year limit for factories, with the cotton manufacturers as usual lined up against the child labor committees and the women's clubs.

In the Carolinas, where the State Child Labor Committees share the services of Mr. Swift, the 14-year limit is in question. Compulsory education is proposed in South Carolina and may be extended in North. Pennsylvania has a hotly contested bill prohibiting night work and providing better enforcement of the law. Here the campaign is in the hands of Mr. Furman, Secretary of the Pennsylvania Child Labor Association. The main points at issue elsewhere are an age limit higher than 14 in Illinois and Michigan; the regulation of street trades in half a dozen states; night work and the 8-hour day; the night messenger service, and the better issuance of work permits. In Arkansas, where a good law was passed by the initiative last September, a bill exempting certain counties from the law has been introduced in the Legislature and must be opposed. A fight is waging in Delaware against the Child Labor Commission, with the enforcement and stability of the child labor law involved.

San Francisco Exhibit

With the opening of the Panama Exposition on February 20 the new twenty-five panel exhibit, "The High Cost of Child Labor" and "What Are We Going To Do About It?", will be on view. The exhibit handbook, amplifying the statements of the panels, which is reprinted in this Bulletin will be for sale. Mrs. Mabry, who has assisted Mr. Hine for several months in New York, will act as demonstrator and urge membership in the Committee among visitors to the Exposition.

MEMBERSHIP

Miss Eschenbrenner, the Membership Secretary, has been travelling through several Western states bringing the work of the Committee before the public with such success that 221 members whose subscriptions amount to $1,338 have been enrolled through her personal efforts. There has been unmistakable testimony to the loyalty of our old members in the faithfulness with which subscriptions have been renewed in spite of hard times. The resources of the Committee have been about $2,200 less since the beginning of the fiscal year, October 1, than they were last year up to this time, but the difference has come chiefly through the reduction of gifts from those members who had contributed $100 or more last year. The number of members has not been reduced. For this we are grateful, since the effectiveness of our work depends quite as much on the number of people interested as on funds with which to carry on our campaigns.

MENTAL AND PHYSICAL MEASUREMENTS OF WORKING CHILDREN by Helen Thompson Woolley and Charlotte Rust Fischer. Psychological Review Publications, Vol. XVIII, No. 1, Princeton, N. J., December, 1914.

To the critic of the schools we commend the results of these Cincinnati tests—the first attempt in this country to study scientifically the mental and physical development of a large representative group of working children. That the schools have not entirely failed to equip children for efficiency in work that is worth doing is suggested by such findings as these: "There is a positive correlation with school grade in every phase of every one of the mental tests. . . . In these tests (substitution and sentence) the superiority of the upper-grade children consisted not merely, or even chiefly, in the superior quality of their performance, but even more strikingly in their superior speed. The difference can be expressed in terms of efficiency. They not only do a set task of learning better, but they do it in a shorter time, and with fewer errors in the process." Again in the physical tests, there is a positive correlation with school grade which is most marked and

consistent in the tests "which involve the factor of the voluntary coördination of several groups of muscles."

On the other hand the report finds that "the simplest and most fundamental physical powers—strength, steadiness, and rapidity—show only small and inconsistent correlations with school grade, which are entirely lacking in some of the groups." And right here one is led to wonder how much of industry's criticism of the schools may not be based on the fact that so many of the processes in factories require only these simplest and most fundamental powers, and whether an adjustment should not be made by industry quite as much as by the schools. It is entirely conceivable that a further development of machinery might do away with those monotonous tasks which make little or no claim on the intelligence of the workers, just as the modern printing press has already eliminated the unskilled worker who formerly fed the press, and now requires only a highly skilled mechanic.

But few conclusions concerning the relation of industry to the child are attempted in the present volume. It does make certain suggestions concerning vocational guidance, but it gives the impression that after all such guidance can be applied to only a limited field of work because, "The positions open to children of fourteen and fifteen years who possess only the educational qualifications represented by the upper grades of the grammar school, are of very limited variety. Many of them require so little either of skill or of intelligence that not much selection of individuals need be made."

Later reports will take up in detail the comparison of the group of working children with a corresponding group of children who have remained in school, and will give in detail the applications of the tests to vocational problems. The chief value of the present volume lies in its careful description of the methods of testing the children. It is not only suggestive of standards which might well be required of all children before they may leave school, but it is an excellent handbook for school men or state inspectors whose duty it is to pass upon the physical and mental qualifications of applicants for work permits.

ANNA ROCHESTER.

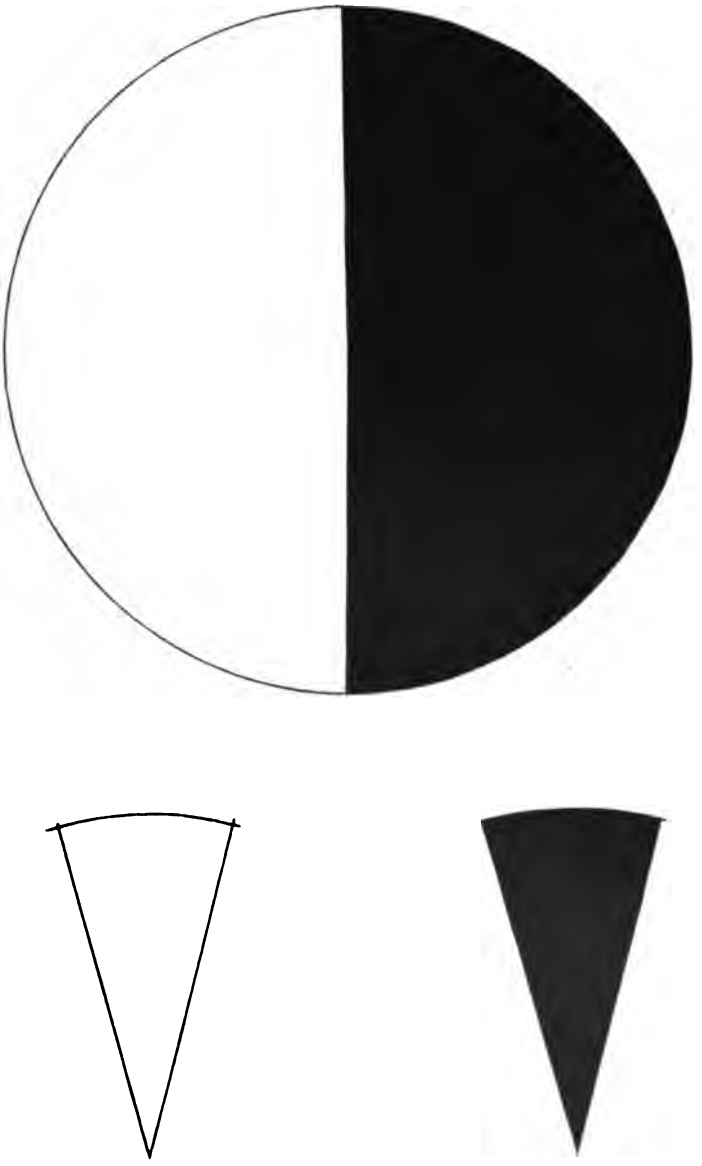
GIRLS AT WORK AND WHY THEY WORK

HELEN C. DWIGHT

How am I to find out about local conditions? To the dweller in the fair-sized, manufacturing town who asks this question, we recommend the report of the study of girls 14 to 16 years of age at work in Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, carried on by Miss Sarah H. Atherton and fifty-three other volunteer workers during the winter of 1913–1914. In November, 1913, the plan of the study, whose object was "to give the facts about girls from 14 to 16 years of age . . . . . who have left school to go to work," was submitted to the Pennsylvania Child Labor Association, the National Child Labor Committee, the Pennsylvania Consumers' League and the United States Commissioner of Labor Statistics, and later revised according to their suggestions. A card index of girls receiving employment certificates in the years 1912 and 1913 was made and verified from school, and employers' records. Four hundred names were catalogued for investigation but when the schedules were returned 98 had to be rejected for various reasons. The study, then, is of 302 girls, 14 and 15 years old. The conditions found are not startling—Miss Atherton emphasized from the first that there was to be no muck-raking connected with the work—but certain interesting facts were discovered and the thoroughness of the work alone would justify comment on it. The complete report will be published by the National Consumers' League. The present review of the findings deals simply with certain facts which are significant from the point of view of the National Child Labor Committee.

Wilkesbarre is situated in the heart of the anthracite region. According to the report it is so surrounded by mining towns "that it is impossible for the casual observer to tell where the city ends and the towns begin." There is naturally a large foreign population, and "more miners and mine laborers have daughters under 16 at work than any other class of working men." But the most remarkable finding in this connection is that "a larger proportion of native-born children of native-born parents are working below the

COMPARISON OF THOSE WHO LEFT SCHOOL WITH LABOR PERMITS AND THOSE WHO WERE REPORTED ACTUALLY AT WORK



1200 labor certificates granted in 1912 and 1913, to boys and girls.

White represents 597 names who were reported actually at work.

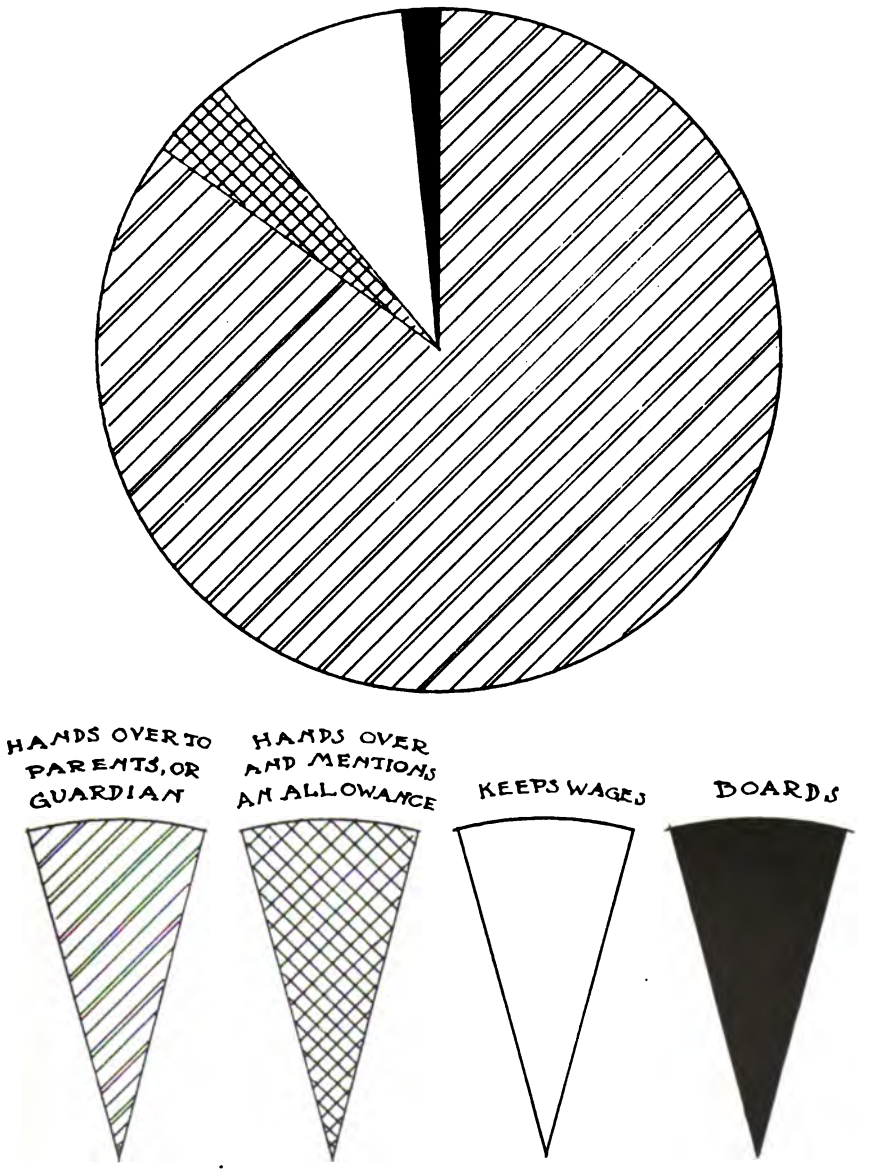
Black represents 603 names which did not appear on reports of employers stating employees under 16, in 1913. The law requires those who are not at work to be at school.

age of 16 than children of foreign-born parents." "In every 45 males of voting age, native-born of native parentage, one has a daughter under 16 at work. In every 65 males of voting age, foreign-born and naturalized, one has a daughter under 16 at work. This difference may be in part accounted for by the fact that . . . . . the proportion of young men among immigrants to a mining region is large." The chief industries of the city itself are silk and lace manufacturing. The silk industry depends on girls under 16 for 12.8 per cent of its labor force, the lace industry, for 7.5 per cent, and all other industries where girls are employed, for 8.8 per cent. The school system in the city is of course better than in the surrounding districts and the granting of work permits is better supervised. Of all the girls between 14 and 16 one-quarter have work permits while three-quarters are in school. But here two remarkable facts were discovered. Of all the children under 16 who have received work permits and left school only one-half are actually reported at work. And of the girls at work 21 per cent admit they left school before they were legally of an age to do so. As the report points out, when more than one-fifth of the population who come under a law break it, "either the law needs remodelling or it should be enforced."

But the main point of interest about these working girls is their reason for going to work. Why do they leave school, more than one-fifth of them illegally, to go into factories? The girls themselves gave reasons varying from "not promoted" to "wanted to buy a piano," or "my friends left." Of 81 parents interviewed, 46 said their daughters went to work from necessity, and since 85 per cent of the girls reporting the disposal of their earnings "hand over their wages to their parents or guardians without even mentioning an allowance," and 9.2 per cent hand over their wages but receive a small allowance, it is evident that whether the parents need their daughters' wages or not, they use them. The "pin-money" explanation of girls going to work does not seem to apply to Wilkesbarre.

In order to find the approximate number of families in need of the additional income of their daughters' earnings, an analysis was made of the per capita weekly incomes of the families concerned. Rent was deducted from the income, after the plan of the United States Bureau of Labor in its Report on the Condition

DISPOSAL OF WAGES



of Woman and Child Wage-Earners, because "rent is apt to be at once the most important and inflexible single item in the wage-earner's budget. . . . . Ordinarily rent must be paid even though clothes go unbought and food be cut down to the minimum,"* and because "rent, being the most variable expense, should be eliminated before comparable measurements of financial ability can be made for families living in different localities."† "The 'poverty line' varies somewhat according to market prices, but in Pennsylvania, for general computations, $2.00 per capita weekly income is considered necessary to maintain a human being in sufficient bodily health and vigor to work." On this basis, with the daughter's income as well as the rent deducted, 46.4 per cent of the families studied fall below the poverty line. When only the rent is deducted, 30 per cent of the families are still below the poverty line. That is, the daughter's earnings succeeded in 16.4 per cent of the cases in bringing the family up to or above the poverty line. In three of the families reported, there was no income left when rent and daughter's wages were deducted. "It is surprising to find that poverty in the prosperous coal regions of Pennsylvania is so similar in extent to the poverty in the Old World." The per cents found vary about one point from the result of Charles Booth's study of life and labor in London, and about two points from Rowntree's study of York.‡

Naturally the girls' additions to the family incomes are small. They leave school at too low a grade to be skilled workers or to be capable of bettering their wages to any great degree. Only 27 per cent of them reach grades in school above the 7th. (Girls of 14 may, according to the Pennsylvania law, leave school at any grade.) The astonishing thing about the wage-scale is that it varies scarcely at all in proportion to the grade at which the girl left school. Most of the girls of 14 leaving school at the 8th grade receive from $3.50 to $3.99 a week. So do girls of 14 leaving at the 5th grade, etc. "All that one can conclude, therefore, is that the amount of education indicated by the grades in the schools bears no direct relation to the amount of wages obtained." Nor does the length

* Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the U. S., Vol. VII, page 85.

† *Ibid*, page 29.

‡ See Miss Atherton's report for slight difference in basis of comparison.

of time out of school, or "industrial experience," appear to affect the wage-scale. "Reports from the 5th grade of girls less than one year out of school, or with supposedly less than one year of industrial experience, show $3.00-3.49 or $3.50-3.99. . . . . Of girls from the 7th grade, two or more years out of school, the highest per cent is . . . . . in the $4.00-4.99 wage column. Girls from the 8th grade, two or more years out of school, on the other hand, shift back and have the highest per cent in the $3.00-3.49 wage column." "From one point of view this might seem an arraignment of the educational system, for education is supposed to fit children better to cope with life. But when one sees how absolutely mechanical much of the work is which the girls under 16 do in the mills, one can easily understand that more education might not contribute in the least to the value of their work."

It must be remembered in this connection that the girls have practically no choice in the matter of occupations. Only 14 per cent of the girls said they had had any choice. Some chose their job because it was near home, because their friends were there, or something of that sort. Most of them, apparently, chose it because the job was there. Under these circumstances it is not astonishing that the work, mechanical in itself, is done in a mechanical way. There is on record the case of a girl who had worked six years in a tin mill, but who had no idea what the tops she was making were for. What interest had she in her job? And what choice had she exercised in taking that particular job? "When 'necessity' plays so large a part in the girl's life, it is not strange that so small a number of girls under 16 are able to plan their lives in accordance with any ambition they may have for the future."

The report of course makes certain recommendations with the reminder that because conditions are probably better in the city than in the surrounding coal towns, "any need of improvement which may be disclosed in Wilkesbarre is also true of many of the neighboring communities." The most important recommendations in relation to the facts we have stated are, first, a better issuance of work permits and more efficient factory inspection to insure enforcement of the law; second, "a living wage to men;" and, third, "vocational training designed not merely to increase earning capacity." The first of these is directly in line with efforts now being made to better the Pennsylvania child labor law. A real

educational requirement in the granting of work permits, the more careful issuance of such permits, and the return of the permit to the issuing officer by the employer when the child leaves a job, are among the provisions before the Pennsylvania Legislature this year. The second and third recommendations are less easy to follow, but are of greater significance. They bring fresh proof from a typical industrial community of the child labor problem's close connection with the whole question of labor and wages, and with the educational problem as well.

CHILD FLOWER-MAKERS IN NEW YORK TENEMENTS*

ELEANOR H. ADLER

The flower trade flourishes in almost every tenement among the Italians of Greenwich Village on the lower West Side, and almost every family expects the children to help in pasting, bunching and curling petals and stamens. A trip up any of the dark, smelly stairs will show a group of six, seven, and eight-year-old workers gathered around leaves or petals and a mass of yellow paste. The rooms are often dark and bare, the windows tightly sealed, and the pasting and bunching of colored petals goes on rapidly at the kitchen table.

Children work during the school lunch hour, after they get home in the afternoon, and often late into the night. Apparently there is little truancy, but incredibly small babies, four, five, and six years old work all day "because they don't have to go to school yet." The children carry large, heavy boxes of finished and unfinished material to and from the factories. They can not come to settlement classes because they "have to stay home and help." Some do simple pasting, but others are quite expert and can "bunch" rose-petals or violets as well as their mothers.

Child labor among Italian families comes apparently from two causes—great poverty and greed. Italians, many of them, are accustomed to look upon their children as financial assets and expect them to help support the family at a very early age. They agree with Mrs. Marshalino who complained that she was old and her children young, "I work, work every day. Now time they work for me." In this case the children had been helping her at flowers for years, and the little boy and two girls had all three acquired spinal curvature and were permanently deformed from the work. In some instances the Charity Organization Society found children forced to earn money in addition to the Society's family pension, and even a two weeks' summer outing frowned upon because it

* Preliminary report on a study of a hundred families in one district made more than a year after a 14-year age limit for tenement homework had been enacted.

reduced their earnings. Other families simply take the traditional Italian point of view that children must help "to put money in the bank."

The majority of the parents, however, are not greedy but destitute. When the father is poorly paid, incapacitated or dead, the mother must support the family, and the children's help is imperative. Mrs. Antonia, for instance, has to support her five children as her hard-working husband died suddenly of apoplexy two years ago without leaving any savings. She takes care of the family by making roses at 50 cents a gross. Though she works from eight in the morning until eleven at night she can only manage to make a gross and a half in two days. Naturally, therefore, Carmela and Antoinetta and Luigi and Suzie—eleven years, eight years, six years, and four years old—have all learned to help, working whenever work is to be had, winter and summer. Occasionally a neighbor drops in and helps "bunch" without taking any of the earnings. In this way, the family manages to support itself.

In another instance the father of a family had been shot in a feud and the mother and three children earn six dollars a week making poinsettas—"dirty work" as they called it because the red petals dye off on the hands. The work was not carried on under the best of conditions. The three small children were pasting petals on the floor; there was a sick older daughter; a sick baby lay in a cradle, smothered under four or five layers of bed clothes; the windows were tightly closed, and the whole room and even the baby's head covered with red petals from the flowers.

Sometimes flower making is substituted when factory positions are impossible, as in the case of an older girl whose earnings had been indispensable and who had sprained her back. She worked at home from eight in the morning until nine-thirty at night putting stamen heads on stems, earning from 10 to 30 cents. A sister of thirteen and a brother of eight helped after school and totalled daily about 10 cents more.

Flower-work is excessively ill-paid. Pasting generally brings in about 2 cents a gross, or 2 cents for 144 pasted pieces—leaves, stamens, etc. A child can hardly paste more than 1,000 leaves a day, earning about 12 cents. The work in itself is not difficult, though some of the children do the more skilled processes of "bunching" violets, roses, etc. But the confinement, the eye

strain, the bending position, and the late night hours make it taxing. One little boy said he worked instead of his mother, it "made her so nervous." Mrs. Fidaci stated that "curlin' the petals, that's the children's work—it makes me dizzy." Some children say that their "eyes feel funny," and almost all complain of the eye strain, which is particularly bad under the flaring gas jets at night. Children who come home from a day at school, youngsters who are not even old enough to start their schooling, ought never be allowed to do this work.

The New York State Law makes it illegal for a child under 14 to be employed, but among these Italians the law is practically a dead letter. Most of the families are in absolute ignorance of of it. They rarely speak English, have not yet adopted American customs, and take the children's help for granted. The majority of the children go on working unconcernedly during a visit. A few families have been seen by inspectors, and some have been frightened into locking their doors or thrusting the work out of sight, under a bed, at the beginning of a call. Mrs. Fatala spoke of "a white-haired lady" who came and told her that her children must not go on flower making, and who returned in a month to find the children in school and said "vera good." But the children in this case continued to work after school hours until ten o'clock at night. Inspectors have such a large number of licensed houses to cover that at best they can not make frequent visits, and the present child labor conditions need close and constant follow-up work.

These widespread illegalities are generally recognized and deplored by the teachers, settlement workers, and charity visitors of the neighborhood. That they flourish among ninety per cent of the families is, they say, a conservative estimate. But remedies are hard to find and the stress of poverty enlists sympathy with the workers. Some see a solution in giving inspection into the hands of school authorities. Others would take all homework completely out of the tenements. But whatever may be tried to do away with child labor, it is perhaps well to realize that putting a law on the statute books is only the beginning of its effectiveness. The present New York law forbids child labor under 14 yet down on Carmine Street, Cornelia Street, and Thompson Street, hundreds of children under 14 are working every day.

WHAT THE GOVERNMENT SAYS ABOUT COTTON MILLS

ANNA ROCHESTER and FLORENCE TAYLOR

That illegal employment of young children in North Carolina continues is not only a fair inference from the absence of state inspection but a fact proved by the recent findings of the National Child Labor Committee. The legal age limit is now 13 years (12 for apprentices), but last November an agent of the Committee visited sixteen cotton and hosiery mills in the state and found fifty children whom he judged to be under 12, besides sixteen children who told him they were less than 12 years old. Seven of these children gave their ages as less than 10 years and two little spinners were said by their grandmother to be 6 and 7 years old. In only three of the mills visited did he find no cases of illegal employment.

This is hardly surprising when we consider that in 1910 the Census of Occupations reported 4,003 children 10 to 13 years of age in the mills of North Carolina. North Carolina employed more than one-third of all the cotton mill children under 14 reported for the entire country; she had not only a larger number of them than any other single state, but the proportion of cotton mill workers below that age was greater in North Carolina than elsewhere. Not that other states were free from blame: the cotton mill is everywhere the largest single employer of children, and in six Southern states which had in 1910 no 14-year age limit, 93 of every thousand workers in the mills were children under 14. But in four New England states a 14-year limit was being enforced in 1910, with the result that less than two per thousand mill workers were under 14, and both the number and proportion under 16 were less than those under 14 in the Southern mills.

So far as the laws and their enforcement are concerned there is every reason to believe that this comparison is fair at the present day. Three-fourths of all the cotton mill children under 14 in 1910 were in three states, Alabama and the two Carolinas, where there is still no 14-year limit. And the worst of it is that in these same three states an 11-hour day is still customary and legal. Not only

for these young children, but for two-thirds of those 14 and 15 years old, the legal mill day is far too long. Massachusetts has brought her 6,500 older children under the 8-hour rule; Mississippi has done the same for her far smaller number of boys under 14 and girls under 16; but there were in 1910, 21,000 children under 16 in four textile states (including New Hampshire) in which the law still offers no protection from the 11-hour day.

In this connection it is worth while to review briefly the findings of the federal investigation* made two years earlier. Nothing has occurred to lessen their value at the present time so far as they relate to the welfare of the children: the danger of accident is the same that it was seven years ago; and it will hardly be claimed by those who believe that poverty makes child labor necessary that the wages of adults have been lowered. We refer also to the findings concerning violations because of the entire lack of enforcement in one state and the inadequate provisions in others.

Accidents

"The younger workers are in relatively nonhazardous occupations." In giving the rates per 100 employees in Southern mills for 527 accidents, grouped by age and sex, the report says:

"Here is clear evidence of greater liability to accident on the part of children. Though employed in less hazardous work their rates steadily exceed those of their older co-workers even when in that group are included the occupations of relatively high liability. . . . . Reference to a later table (not reprinted here) will disclose 94 cases of injury from shafts, belts, and gears in Southern mills. . . . The rate for the child is more than double that of the older worker in this group, where the loss of part of a finger is usually the mildest occurrence. . . .

"Of the relative hazard from belts it may be said:

"1. The duties of children in these mills call them into the vicinity of moving belts quite as frequently as do those of more mature workers. The danger of being caught is quite as great.

"2. If caught the less weight of the child much increases the liability of serious danger.

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*Vol. I, Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the U. S., 61st Congress, Senate Doc., 645.

"3. The instinctive protective activities of the child are much less well developed.

"Seven children lost fingers in gear accidents. Ten persons 16 years of age and over suffered injuries." (This is a rate of one-tenth of one per cent for the children involved and three-hundredths of one per cent for employees 16 and over.) "It appears then that comparison of the number employed with the number injured in each age group, the consideration of a group of particular severity, and the examination of particular kinds of injury all point in the same direction—the hazard of the child is high." (Pages 385-386)

Wages and Income

Two facts stand out in the comparison of wages in the North and South: the early age at which the maximum earning power is reached in the South and the difference between the Southern maximum and the Northern. In Massachusetts, which may be taken as typical of the North, males reach their maximum (18 cents an hour) between the ages of 45 and 49, and females reach their maximum of 15 cents between 35 and 45 years of age. In North Carolina, on the other hand, males reach their maximum of 13 cents between 25 and 29 years, and females their maximum of 10 cents between 30 and 34 years.

In considering the question of family incomes and the wages of children, few definite conclusions can be drawn as to the actual need for the child's wages. "The average family income of the 47 New England families having children under 14 years at work was $1,079 of which $148 or 13.7 per cent was from children under 14. . . . . The average annual income of the Southern families having children under 14 at work was $954, of which $184, or 19.3 per cent, was contributed by children under 14 years of age. . . . . Excluding families of orphans, represented by only 2 families, the smallest average income was in families of deserted mothers, namely $629, of which $167, or 26.6 per cent, was contributed by children under 14." (Pages 483-484) But it should be noted that contrary to the popular impression that nearly all the children under 14 have been driven into the mills by the desperate poverty of a widowed or deserted mother, the report finds

that 76 per cent of the little breadwinners below that age had both parents living and able to work.

Analyzing these figures in relation to the size of the family the report finds the average per capita weekly income in families with children under 14 at work, exclusive of the children's earnings, to be $2.36 in New England, and $2.06 in the South. And while more than half of the children under 14 in the Southern mills were in families whose income was below the average, 287 of them were from families whose per capita weekly income was $2.50, $3.00, or more.

Illegal Employment

The report included among the cases of illegal employment only those children whose ages were admitted by their families or were proved by indisputable evidence. On this basis it finds that without including mills in which children under 12 were working under legal exceptions 107 children or 74.8 per cent of the mills in the Southern states were employing children below that legal age. This does not include the mills in Mississippi which had at that time no child labor law. The report says in this connection: "The age-limit laws in effect at the time of the investigation were openly and freely violated in every State visited. The employment of children under the legal age (12 years) in the Southern mills investigated was reported by 30 agents of the Bureau engaged upon the work of the investigation. Only 2 agents failed to report children under age. Of these agents 1 investigated only a single mill; the other, while his work was also limited to a single mill, actually reported children under 12 years, but the evidence which he was able to secure was not sufficient to warrant the acceptance of the ages as reported." (Page 171)

The number of children who were proved to be illegally employed under 12 years in the mills of these five Southern states was 753. One child was only 6 years old, the others were 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11. Of North Carolina, the only state which has still done nothing in the way of enforcement, the report says: "In North Carolina of the 59 establishments canvassed, 44, or 74.6 per cent, were found to employ children under the legal age. . . In the 44 establishments illegally employing children a total of 1,751 children were employed, 202 of whom, or 11.5 per cent, were under the

legal age. . . . In North Carolina in 6 of the 59 establishments investigated more than 25 per cent of the children were under 12 years of age, and in 3 of these approximately 35 per cent of all child workers were thus illegally employed." (Pages 186-187)

To-day

In North Carolina, South Carolina, and Alabama, the age limit for day work has not yet been raised to 14 years for any children; Mississippi has a 14-year limit for girls only; and Georgia and Virginia allow children under 14 to go to work by special permit in case of need.

In these six Southern states and two of the New England group the parent's affidavit may be accepted as proof of the child's age, although experience there and elsewhere has shown that many parents do not hesitate to swear falsely, and proper provision for work permits and proof of age is one of the primary requisites of strict enforcement.

In North Carolina there is still no provision for inspection of cotton mills by the state; in Georgia the Commissioner of Labor has been given no inspectors; and in Maine, Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina the staff of inspectors is too small to cover the field.

THE HIGH COST OF CHILD LABOR

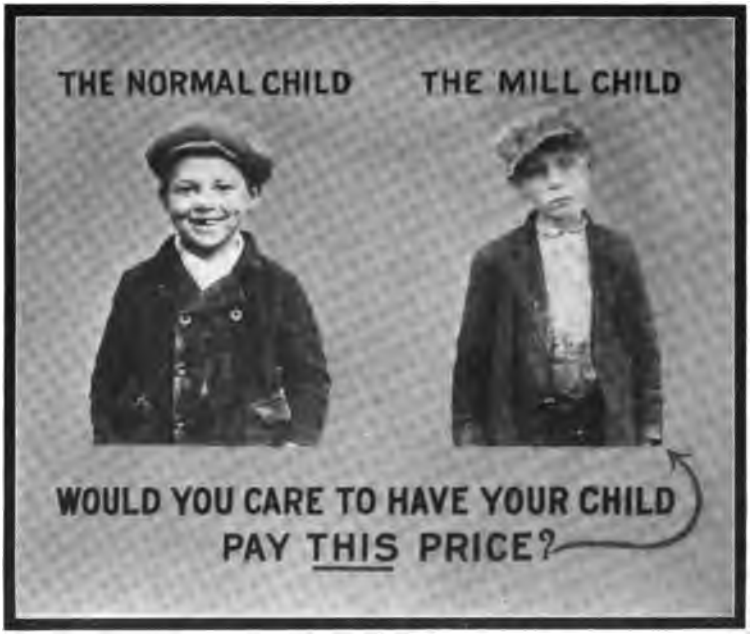
Reprint of

EXHIBIT HANDBOOK

Photographs by Staff Photographer, LEWIS W. HINE

I. THE COST TO THE CHILD

The child laborer pays dearly for his earnings. The factory child, the miner, the cash girl, the street worker—each meets a danger that is peculiar to the job and from which only the exceptional child, the one among thousands, escapes.



CHILDREN CANNOT ESCAPE THE DEADENING EFFECTS OF:

LONG HOURS
MONOTONOUS TOIL
LACK OF PROPER RECREATION
LOSS OF EDUCATION
VICIOUS SURROUNDINGS

Physical Effects

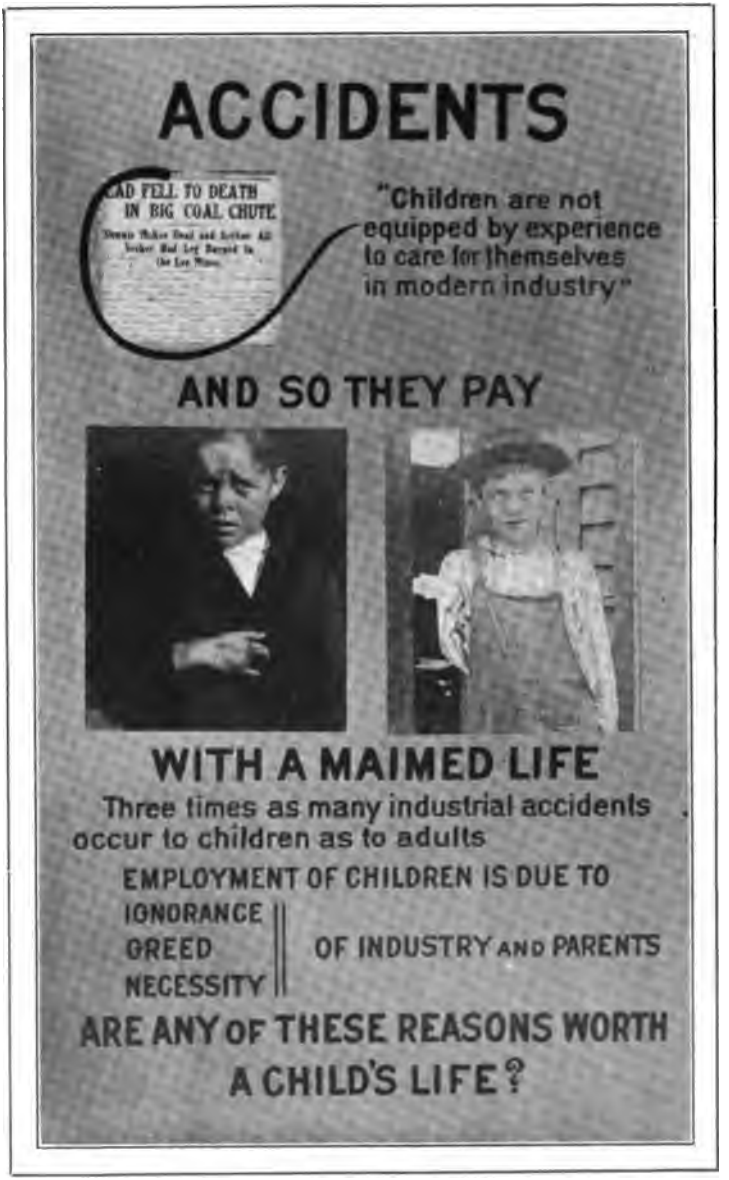
The factory child comes first to mind as the child worker who pays with health, education and efficiency for the wages he earns, and this costly kind of child labor alone employs nearly 200,000 children under 16, of whom more than half are legally working 9, 10, or 11 hours a day. The 11-hour day is not uncommon in the cotton mills where many of the youngest children are employed. Yet the testimony of a woman textile worker before a Massachusetts legislative committee shows the harm of such long hours. "Eight hours a day is certainly enough for a child," she said. "I have worked in mills for 20 years and I know what I am talking about. With a temperature of 80 to 86 degrees they can't grow. I began at 13 years of age and all I get now is $9 a week . . . . . I went to night schools as long as I possibly could. The work I did all day robbed me of my strength of mind and body. I fell asleep at my desk many a night in school, and I think 8 hours a day is enough for the children."

Mill and factory processes involve the muscles in endless repetition of a few motions and are far removed from the varied activities craved, and needed, by the growing child. From repeated fatigue there results, according to physicians, a weakening and an ultimate degeneration of the muscles and of general health. Even the shorter working day cannot save the children; child labor in factories must be abolished.

Accidents

In every occupation there is the possibility of accident to the worker, and the child has been found to be three times as liable to accident as the adult. This ratio of hazard, stated by the Minnesota Bureau of Labor, was quoted by the United States Industrial Commission in 1902 and lends special pathos to the one-armed boy pictured on this panel, a box-factory victim of a dangerous saw. The hand of the other boy was maimed in the gearing of a spinning machine, an accident to which the same ratio of hazard was found to apply by a federal investigation of the cotton industry.

More serious hazard threatens the boy who works in coal breakers, or in mines underground. Most of the boys underground are door-tenders and of this work the Federal Bureau of Labor says, "The loss of life in proportion to the number employed must be


ACCIDENTS
AD FELL TO DEATH
IN BIG COAL CHUTE
"Children are not equipped by experience to care for themselves in modern industry"
AND SO THEY PAY
WITH A MAIMED LIFE
Three times as many industrial accidents occur to children as to adults
EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN IS DUE TO
IGNORANCE
GREED
NECESSITY
OF INDUSTRY AND PARENTS
ARE ANY OF THESE REASONS WORTH A CHILD'S LIFE?

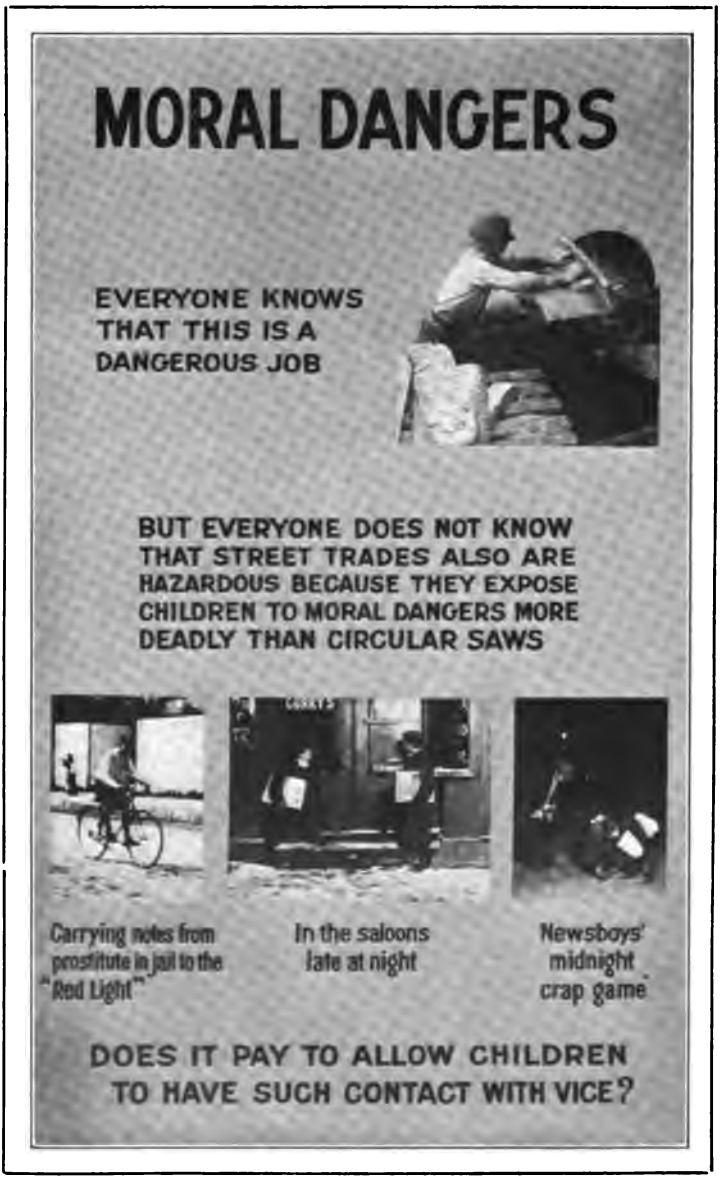
considered appalling, and few occupations in mining show a higher rate due to fatal accidents than this group of either very young or very old men." The Bureau points out that "the life and safety of all underground may depend upon the prompt closing of a door." But that boys doing work in mines other than door-tending may involve their fellows in danger was illustrated by the Cherry mine disaster when the thoughtlessness of two 15-year-old boys contributed to the loss of 259 lives.

Juvenile Crime

The highest cost is paid by children in occupations from which physical dangers are absent. The child on the street suffers not from monotony but from undirected variety in the midst of temptation. The exhibit shows us Jakey diving into a grocer's barrel to supplement his breakfast with stolen apples; a 7-year-old newsie who sells until midnight; and Leo and Willie just returned from the reform school to which they were sent as a result of street work. Not only are a majority of the children who come before the juvenile court street workers, that is, newsboys, errand boys, drivers, messengers, bootblacks or peddlers, but nearly two-thirds of the offenses are committed by working children. Far more frequently than nonworkers they are "repeaters," brought up for a second or third offense, and far more frequently, too, do they come from homes reported as "fair" and "good." These statements in the Federal Report on Juvenile Delinquency are borne out by other evidence secured by the National Child Labor Committee. The Chief Constable of an English city in his report for 1913 calls street trading pernicious and sums up the indictment against it thus: "It affords every opportunity for the commencement of a criminal career and tends to lead the children to habits of begging, gambling and sleeping out, and, of course, interferes with their education. . . . . Parental supervision of street trades is impossible."

Loss of Education

The child who works can not have adequate schooling, even if his work is done only outside of school hours. But many in the cotton mills, in shrimp and oyster canneries, and in other occupations scattered through the states with poor child labor laws are deprived of schooling. Their work does not take the place of school,


MORAL DANGERS
EVERYONE KNOWS THAT THIS IS A DANGEROUS JOB
BUT EVERYONE DOES NOT KNOW THAT STREET TRADES ALSO ARE HAZARDOUS BECAUSE THEY EXPOSE CHILDREN TO MORAL DANGERS MORE DEADLY THAN CIRCULAR SAWS
Carrying notes from prostitute in jail to the "Red Light"
In the saloons late at night
Newsboys' midnight crap game
DOES IT PAY TO ALLOW CHILDREN TO HAVE SUCH CONTACT WITH VICE?

and they too often grow up illiterate, inefficient, and ultimately unemployable. It is significant that according to the *New York Sun* of May 31, 1914, 140 out of 2,000 men at the New York Municipal Lodging House were unschooled and 1,000 had left school before they were 14 years old. Child labor manufactures inefficiency, and the child becomes the child-labor-adult, whose usefulness has been ruined by premature work.

II. THE COST TO INDUSTRY

Employers Appear to Save in Wages

The employer of children forces all wages down to the level of the child's wage. "When women and children are brought in with their labor force to compete against the labor of men, the whole family together earns, on an average, no more than the father would earn, if they were not allowed to enter the field against him."

In Massachusetts where children under 14 are not permitted to enter industry in competition with their fathers, the father's wage in the cotton mills advances steadily until he is 45 or 50, when he reaches his maximum wage of 18c an hour. In the South, on the other hand, where children of 10 and 12 are employed in the mills in competition with their fathers, the father reaches his maximum of 13c an hour when he is 25 years old. After that his wage declines rapidly until at 50 he is earning only 9c an hour.

But High Wages Pay

The poorly paid worker turns out a low-grade product. "Efficiency of labor, less labor cost and increased power to compete . . . are found where wages are higher."

This statement was made by an economist, but modern employers have discovered the truth of it. Cotton mills, department stores and telegraph offices in New Orleans are prospering under a well-

enforced child labor law, and some employers find it pays to apply standards even higher than those that are required. A Western Union Telegraph office in Alabama, which holds the record for efficiency south of the Ohio River, refuses to employ young children, although there is nothing in the child labor law to prevent.

A Connecticut manufacturer abolished children from his factory six years ago "prompted by sentiment, but as it has worked out it is reason based on experience." He finds that children over 16 are a better investment. They do more work, better work, spoil less material, have a sense of responsibility and are well worth the higher wage.

The condition of two Alabama cotton mills proves that the enlightened manager does not believe young children pay. One mill which has been running only half time attempts to prosper by employing children 9, 10, 11, and 12 years old. It has poor equipment and frightful sanitary conditions, and can only obtain workers of the very lowest grade. The other mill is always running full time. It employs no children under 14, enforces school attendance, has admirable sanitary conditions, and is able to secure high grade workers.

Children can be Profitably Replaced by Adults or Machinery

The greater efficiency of adults is indicated by the following statement from the United States Census on the cotton industry (1909): "The several states differ greatly in the number of spindles per spinner, the figures for the Southern states being very much lower than those for the New England states. These differences are doubtless mainly attributable to differences in the efficiency of labor, to the fact that relatively more children are employed as spinners in the South than in the North, and to differences in the grade of yarn made."

In street trades, traditionally a child's work, the employment of adults is profitable. Only old men are used in the distribution of a certain London paper. The general manager says that boys have no sense of responsibility, while old men cling to their posts very faithfully. "If boys were prohibited altogether from selling newspapers on the street it would automatically send the public to the stands." Several newspapers in this country realize the dangers of street selling for boys and are substituting adults and stands.

The child in indoor employment often does that which machinery can do more quickly and more perfectly. The automatic bottle machine and the slate-picking machine are eliminating boys from

two unhealthful occupations, and more than pay for themselves by making increased production possible. In the paper box factory machinery can perform nearly all of the processes now done by the 14 to 16-year-old girl. The machine turns out in less than an hour what it takes a girl all day to do. The sardine canner does not need to use children at the monotonous work of packing cans in paper boxes and wooden cases. A cartoning machine can do this much more quickly.

Juvenile Jobs do not Train the Worker

Since machines can do many a child's job, it is evident that the work does not develop intelligence and cannot give a child any trade knowledge. Emphatic evidence upon this point is furnished by the New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia surveys of the work in which children engage. In 314 out of 406 positions open to children investigated in New York there was absolutely no training, and 76 per cent of these were in the 20 largest child-employing industries in the city. "The vast majority of children who leave school enter low-grade industries, untrained, unguided, unguarded, where they average between $4 and $4.50 a week; where they jump from job to job, with consequent loss to industry and themselves."

Tenement Homework a Drag on Industry

The practice of giving out to families factory-made articles to be finished in their homes is widespread. It exists not only in the cities but in villages. Clothing manufacturers have admitted that its abolition would do much good in the end. "Home finishing cannot be counted upon as sanitary. If home finishing were done away with . . . it would mean an advance toward better and more sanitary clothing."

In its effect upon the children, it is a more serious evil than factory work, because it cannot be regulated and reacts on family life. The entire family can earn only a pittance by working early in the morning and late into the night. The mother has no time to take care of the home, while the children are frequently kept from school, or if they do go are too tired to stay awake.

Attempts to regulate the ages of children employed and the sanitary conditions under which the work is done have failed miserably and nothing short of the prohibition of tenement homework will protect industry and the child.

CHILDREN NOT NEEDED BY INDUSTRY

Helpers in Glass Factory

THE OLD METHOD

Employer said:
"Elimination of the boys would mean the ruin of the business"

Automatic Bottle Machine

THE NEW METHOD

No Boys needed
better work done

Breaker Boys picking out slate

THE OLD METHOD

The dust makes it difficult to take a photograph. Boys breathe this air ten hours a day

Machine doing same work

THE NEW METHOD

Child Labor abolished and the work done better

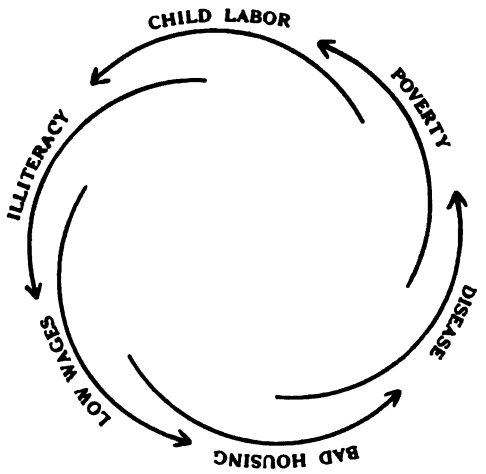
THE ELIMINATION OF CHILD LABOR IS A GAIN TO INDUSTRY

III. THE COST TO SOCIETY

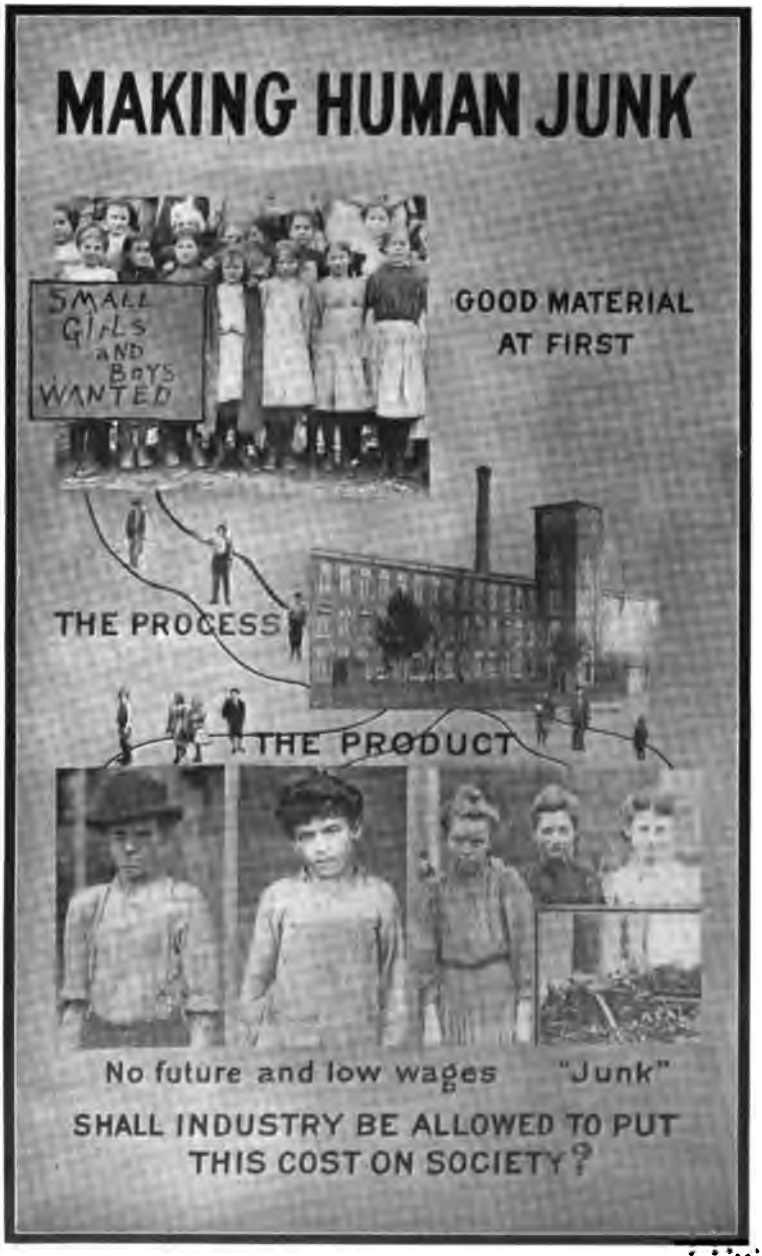
Not only the child, but the parent, the humane employer and society in general pay tribute to the child employer. He injures all of us because by forcing down wages he ruins the health and souls of future generations, and thus he weakens the nation. The cost to the child and the cost to industry become a cost to society, paid in maintaining almshouses, hospitals, courts, police, jails, and public and private relief. It has been estimated that this cost amounts to between $20,000,000 and $25,000,000 a year. One state, in the year 1912, spent one and a quarter million dollars in state appropriations for hospitals and charities alone, without reckoning the cost of courts, prisons, and city or private relief.

The Vicious Circle

"You all know how the circle goes: child labor, illiteracy, industrial inefficiency, low wages, long hours, low standards of living, bad housing, poor food, unemployment, intemperance, disease, poverty, child labor, illiteracy, industrial inefficiency, low



wages—but we are repeating. Where does it start and where does it end? It is a vicious circle indeed. If you put an American citizen at any point in this circle, it is likely to lead him to all the rest. The little child working at the manufacturer's machine is the one who becomes industrially inefficient. As an adult he works


MAKING HUMAN JUNK
SMALL GIRLS AND BOYS WANTED
GOOD MATERIAL AT FIRST
THE PROCESS
THE PRODUCT
No future and low wages
"Junk"
SHALL INDUSTRY BE ALLOWED TO PUT THIS COST ON SOCIETY?

for the lowest wage. He is the first to be unemployed when business is slack and the last to be taken on when business picks up. He is the one who lives in the two-room tenement. His children, in turn, are the first to be employed because he is too poor to send them to school. They are the first to fall prey to disease because they have not fit food to eat. Living as he does he is the first to become the victim of intemperance, because of discouragement and physical depletion. Enter the circle at any point and the victim is exposed to all the rest.

"We cannot abolish poverty today; we cannot abolish intemperance today; we cannot provide all the people with decent housing conditions today; we cannot raise wages and the standard of living today. But this is my argument: child labor is the one link in this vicious circle that the American people can cut right out and thereby make the circle smaller, thereby reduce the number of contributing causes."

IV. WHAT ARE WE GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?

The High Cost of Child Labor is plain, and obviously we must protect children from the kind of work that involves this tremendous cost.

The first step on the way to such protection is the prohibition of child labor. The recognized minimum provisions of a good child labor law are:

A 14-year limit, at least, for all gainful occupations.

A higher age limit for mines, quarries and other dangerous trades, and a 21-year limit for night messengers.

An 8-hour day and no night work for children over 14.

Requirement of work permits for children over 14.

Scientific inspection of factories and other places of employment to ensure obedience to the law.

Hand in hand with the child labor law should go a compulsory education law requiring school attendance of all children under 16 who have not completed the 8th grade.

Work permits properly granted will give full knowledge of every working child's mental and physical equipment, and intelligent vocational guidance will see that the child's tasks are suitable. Thorough inspection will keep children from working in crowded,

WHAT ARE WE GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?

TRY TO PROTECT CHILDHOOD

THROUGH MOTHERS' PENSIONS
NEEDY PARENTS
AND
CHILDREN ARE
CARED FOR

THROUGH CHILD LABOR LAWS

THROUGH COMPULSORY EDUCATION

THROUGH BETTER

HOMES

HEALTH

PLAY

THROUGH WORK PERMITS

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

AND

THROUGH
INSPECTION
AND

CONTINUATION SCHOOLS

unsafe places. Industrial training will help them to advance in their trade and to develop along proper, useful lines.

For the further protection of children, we must see that others bear the burden of wage-earning who are better able to do so than the young child. Aid must be given needy mothers by the state. Living conditions must be safeguarded and wholesome recreation made possible, for the preservation of the child's health.

Helping the "Poor Widow"

In 75 per cent of the cases where families claim that they cannot do without the labor of their children, there is no real need for it.

What is going to be done in cases where the need is real? Several cities have tried successfully the scholarship method whereby the child is paid the wage he would receive if he went to work and is kept in school until he completes the 8th grade.

Twenty-one states are trying Mothers' Pensions as a step toward the goal. Cook County, Illinois, has found the pension method more economical than institutions for dependent children, and more effective in keeping them out of reformatories. The county has saved $75,000 since the law went into effect in 1911. It costs $10 to $15 a month to keep a child in an institution and $5.75 a month to support him at home. Pensions have been granted about 600 families in Cook County, involving 1,700 children, and of these only two have been brought into court for truancy and one for delinquency.

Permits and Inspection

Only by means of carefully granted work permits and thorough inspection of places of employment can the child be assured the full protection of the law.

A work permit must show, first, that the child is of the required age, and this must be proved by documentary evidence—a birth certificate or written proof other than the affidavit of the parent or guardian. At first thought it seems strange to doubt the parent's word as to a child's age, but time after time it has been proved that parents think nothing of swearing falsely if it seems expedient.

Next the permit must show that the child is strong enough. Medical examination of children going to work is absolutely essential to public health. In Philadelphia, where medical examination was tried during the months of June, July, and August, 1914, of 3,964 children examined only 724 were without physical defects. 336

work permits were withheld until the applicant secured glasses, 75 were withheld for defective teeth, and 16 were refused absolutely because of serious physical weakness. The authorities in charge considered this experiment conclusive proof of the need of medical examinations for all working children, and their testimony has been borne out by the experiences of medical examiners in the states where such examination is now required.

Finally the permit must show that the child has had the required schooling. In Maryland they have found that no child who has not passed the 5th grade can be considered able to read and write, for children below this grade forget what they have learned so quickly that in a short time they fall into the class of illiterates. Other states have fixed a higher standard, some requiring the completion of the 6th, 7th or 8th grade.

But when the permits are granted, the thing is not done. The final test of attempted child protection comes through inspection. The fact that inspection of places of employment really bears fruit has lately been proved in two Southern states. An investigation in the fall of 1914 of cotton mills in Alabama where the factory inspector is known to have been distinctly "on the job" showed that practically no children under the legal age of 12 years were at work. But in North Carolina, where it is freely acknowledged that there is no attempt at real inspection, a study of the mills brought to light many young children, not simply a few months but two or three years under age.

Unfortunately in the United States we have too often allowed politics to determine our choice of labor inspectors, whereas the inspector should be not a political appointee but a specialist whose work is done with scientific accuracy. Until we secure such inspectors in every state, child protection will not be complete.

There are ten states in the Union, however, that have no factory inspectors whatever. Do those states know how generally their child labor laws are disregarded and under what conditions their children work? It seems just to say that these ten states have not yet made a real attempt to protect their children.

Child Labor Reform and Education

States with the largest percentages of children 10 to 13 at work have also the largest percentages of illiterates. Together good child labor laws and good compulsory education laws decrease illiteracy and crime,

increase earning power, elevate citizenship and make real democracy possible. Six states—Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina and Texas—have no compulsory education laws (January 1, 1915). Four others have compulsory education only in part of the state, while the short term in rural schools weakens the compulsory education law in many places where it is state-wide. In Tennessee, for instance, the rural school term in some counties is less than 5 months. In South Dakota there are counties in which the term is only 3 months.

It is obvious, as Dr. Felix Adler has pointed out, that the mere ability to read and write is not of itself a guarantee of the kind of mental preparation required for the exercise of the franchise in a republic. The problem of education is to develop judgment in the masses. This kind of education cannot possibly be furnished to the young unless they are kept in the right school up to 14 years at least, and retained under the influence of continuation or part-time schools after they go to work.

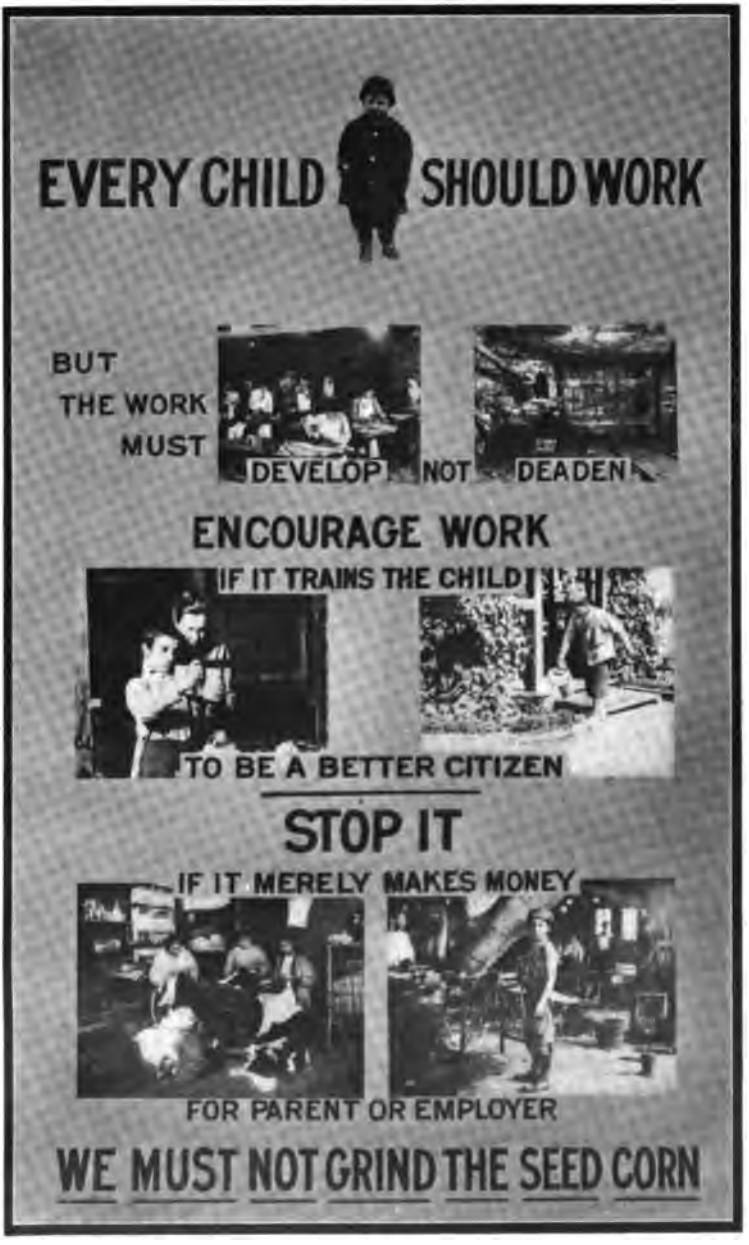
Continuation Schools for Working Children

Children who go to work at 14 have had too little education and training to lift themselves out of the unskilled, poorly paid class of workers. Night schools cannot help them for the child who works all day has little strength left to study at night, but attendance at day part-time or continuation schools should be required of all working children under 18 years of age. The employer spares the child for a few hours each week out of his work time without reducing wages because the school work is related to shop work and the child becomes a more intelligent workman and a better citizen.

Children over 14 who are not employed may attend all-day vocational or industrial schools in which English, civics, industrial history and geography are combined with shop work and related subjects. These schools should be open to all under 18 who have completed the requirements of the elementary school.

Right Work and Wrong

Work is excellent for children when it develops the worker, as does the carpentry the boys in a New York public school are learning. But it should not be tolerated for children when it deadens the


EVERY CHILD SHOULD WORK
BUT
THE WORK
MUST
DEVELOP
NOT
DEADEN
ENCOURAGE WORK
IF IT TRAINS THE CHILD
TO BE A BETTER CITIZEN
STOP IT
IF IT MERELY MAKES MONEY
FOR PARENT OR EMPLOYER
WE MUST NOT GRIND THE SEED CORN

Date

worker, as the door-boy's task in a coal mine must. This consists in waiting by the door in a damp, grimy corner until "a trip" comes along, with nothing to do, and nothing to see—but coal.

The boy who "squares things up" in a settlement woodwork class, and the East Side child who tends a community garden, are learning things that will make them better, happier men. Their work is the kind we should encourage.

But the girl who spends the time she should be in school "finishing pants" in her tenement cannot speak a word of English. What kind of an American citizen will she be?

And the pinched-faced boy who "carries-in" trays of bottles in a glass factory, on the day shift one week and the night shift the next, is learning nothing that will help him in the future. Shall he "carry-in" all his life—until he wears out?

If the child's work does not give him something he can use in later years, we must stop it. We must look to the future—the future of the nation as well as of the individual child.

A Federal Bill to Hasten Progress

A federal child labor bill, drafted by the National Child Labor Committee, was introduced in the House of Representatives on January 26, 1914, by Hon. A. Mitchell Palmer of Pennsylvania, and in the Senate on February 21, 1914, by Senator Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma, to deny interstate commerce to the employers of children under 14 in factories, children under 16 in mines or quarries, and children under 16 in factories at night or more than 8 hours a day. All states but two have one or more of these provisions and nine have them all.

Individual states move slowly. It took Georgia 7 years to raise her age limit from 12 to 14 years, and even now she still permits children of poor parents to work at 12 years of age. If it takes her 7 years more to remove this poverty exemption and 7 years to acquire each of the three other provisions, she will not reach the standard of the federal bill until the year 1942. Similarly with Alabama. She has enacted the night work prohibition but has none of the three other provisions, and at her past rate of progress should come up to standard about 1935.

Meanwhile cotton manufacturers of Massachusetts and Texas complain that they are at a disadvantage in competing with these

backward states, and each state hesitates to improve its laws until the others do likewise. Hence there is a deadlock which only a federal law can remove.

"Are there any local conditions which make child labor advisable in one community when it is intolerable in others? The answer is that no local differences can justly be considered to bear in the slightest degree on this question. Child labor wherever it exists, from the point of view of civilization, or national progress and humanity is intolerable."

A White List of States with the Four Provisions of the Palmer-Owen Bill (January 1, 1915)

Arizona	Kentucky	Ohio
Arkansas	Montana (16-year limit)	Oklahoma
Illinois	New York	Wisconsin

Where Does Your State Stand?

States which have no 14-year limit in factories or a 14-year limit with exemptions. (Note: States marked * have a 14-year limit with exemptions).

Alabama	*Idaho	New Mexico	Utah
*Delaware	*Indiana	North Carolina	*Vermont
*District of Columbia	*Maryland	South Carolina	*Virginia
*California	*Mississippi	*South Dakota	*Washington
*Colorado	*Nevada	*Texas	Wyoming
*Georgia			

States which have no 16-year limit for night work in factories or a 16-year limit with exemptions. (Note: States marked * have a 16-year limit with exemptions).

*Colorado	*Mississippi	South Dakota	Washington
Georgia	Nevada	Texas	West Virginia
Maine	New Mexico	Utah	Wyoming
Maryland	*Pennsylvania	*Virginia	

States which have no 8-hour day for children under 16 in factories, or states which have an 8-hour day with exemptions. (Note: States marked * have an 8-hour day with exemptions).

Alabama	Iowa	North Carolina	Utah
*Colorado	Louisiana	Oregon	Vermont
Connecticut	Maine	Pennsylvania	Virginia
Delaware	Maryland	Rhode Island	*Washington
Florida	Michigan	South Carolina	West Virginia
Georgia	*Mississippi	South Dakota	Wyoming
Idaho	New Hampshire	Tennessee	
*Indiana	New Mexico	Texas	

States which have no 16-year limit for mines and quarries or a 16-year limit with exemptions. (Note: States marked * have a 16-year limit with exemptions. States marked † have mining products valued at $2,500,000 a year or over).

†Alabama	†Iowa	†Missouri	Rhode Island
†California	†Kansas	Nebraska	South Carolina
Connecticut	†Louisiana	New Hampshire	†South Dakota
Delaware	Maine	†New Jersey	†Utah
†Florida	†Massachusetts	†New Mexico	*†Vermont
†Georgia	†Michigan	North Carolina	†Virginia
†Idaho	†Minnesota	North Dakota	†West Virginia
†Indiana	Mississippi	Oregon	†Wyoming

A CHILD'S CREED

I BELIEVE IN BEING HAPPY
I BELIEVE IN BEING BUSY
I BELIEVE IN BEING A BOY
BYE'N-BYE—I'LL BE A MAN

GIVE US A CHANCE!

WE ARE CITIZENS TO-MORROW

There are 1,990,225 children under 16 at work in the United States today. 818,784 of these are working in non-agricultural occupations or are hired out to work on farms.

8,300 men and women have already joined the National Child Labor Committee, but we need ten times this number if the citizens of tomorrow are to have their chance.

MENTAL AND PHYSICAL MEASUREMENTS OF WORKING CHILDREN

BY

HELEN THOMPSON WOOLLEY

AND

CHARLOTTE RUST FISCHER

A set of mental and physical norms for fourteen and fifteen-year-old working children which give more accurate standards of measurement for children of this age than the Binet-Simon tests. The norms are based on 750 children of fourteen who were just leaving school to begin work, and 680 of the same children a year later.

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The volume also contains a description of the entire investigation of which this is the first part published. The authors make a few applications of their results to vocational problems.

Mrs. Woolley was formerly professor of psychology and director of the psychological laboratory at Mt. Holyoke College and experimental psychologist to the Bureau of Education in the Philippine Islands. She is now director of the Cincinnati Bureau of Vocational Guidance. Mrs. Fischer is assistant to Mrs. Woolley in the Cincinnati Bureau.

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